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EUROPEAN HISTORY

(33)

THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE BY POPE LEO III HENRI LEVY

THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE BY POPE LEO III. From the mural painting by Henri Léopold Lévy in the Panthéon at Paris.

Henri Léopold Lévy, a historical and genre painter, was born at Nancy in 1840. This example of his work depicts one of the supreme events of European history, the revival of the Western Empire after an interval of more than three centuries. When Charles the Great or Charlemagne, King of the Franks, was worshipping in St. Peter's at Rome on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, Pope Leo III, in gratitude for the king's support against his enemies, crowned him Emperor and successor of the Cæsars. It is said that the coronation was a surprise to Charlemagne, but this is not very probable.

EUROPEAN HISTORY:

Great Leaders & Landmarks from Early to Modern Times

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Volume II

THE MIDDLE AGES

By

A. R. Hope Moncrieff

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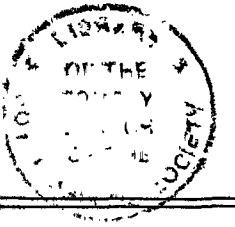

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VOLUME TWO

CHAPTER I

Charlemagne (A.D. 742–814)

It seems hard to fix a mark for the beginning of the Middle Ages; but at the point now reached in our survey we have surely taken leave of Ancient History. We saw where the first recorded nations had issued from the mists of unmapped steppes and mountains. We saw how the first known civilization sprang up on the fertile plains of great rivers, yet there did not find depth of earth for enduring growth in strength. We saw a race of firmer temper formed by strains from north and south mingling on the broken shores of the Levant and the Grecian peninsula. We saw "the glory that was Greece" die away in the final triumph of its long struggle with Persia's unwieldy might. We saw Carthage and Greece conquered by Rome, that let its mind be led captive by its nobler vassal. We saw that proud republic grow into an "amalgam of nations", united under the prestige of a world-wide power. We saw the empire shift its centre of gravity, taking on a new constitution and a new religion. We saw it long upheld by its own weight, and by the artful dovetailing of its parts, yet shaken by successive shocks, till it began to fall asunder. We saw how its two lobes became practically separated though nominally linked together. We saw how in the West barbarian conquests ploughed up and left fallow the soil for a new culture. We saw the East ravaged by a fierce creed destined for centuries to wrestle with the faith that inherited and increased the legacy of pagan ethics. We are now to see the more vigorous half of the old empire revived and reorganized under leaders that would guide it out of the Dark Ages, in the eighth century dark indeed.

When the Goths had been scattered, and shoved aside into the south-western corner of Europe, the nation that waxed strongest on the ruins of Rome's dominion was the Franks, apparently originating in a league of Teuton tribes destined to spread their blood through ancient Gaul, and to leave their name in the forms France and French. One division of them, the Salian Franks, had pushed themselves into supremacy here by the conquests of their ruthless chief, Clovis, who cemented a wide kingdom in the blood of his kinsmen and rivals.

On his death it was partitioned among his four sons, then more than once reunited, again to fall asunder. Two main divisions were named Neustria and Austrasia, roughly answering to northern France and southern Germany. The kings of both degenerated into mere puppets, their authority wielded by masterful ministers, like Stilicho and Aëtius at Rome, here taking the modest title of house stewards, or Mayors of the Palace. These came to be the virtual rulers, while the titular sovereign was kept in the background, exhibited once a year like an idol; and if he stood in his master's way he could always be shut up in a monastery, the long hair that marked his royal birth being shorn, a more merciful mode of incapacitation than the blinding practised at Constantinople. The only notable name among those Merovingian kings is Dagobert's, who has in France a fabulous fame something like that of our "Old King Cole".

In his time a Mayor of the Palace named Pepin governed Austrasia so well that his son, Grimwald, ventured to seize an office tending to become hereditary. He went on to set aside the feeble king, packed off to an Irish monastery, and would have snatched the royal title for his own son (A.D. 656). Such usurpation, as yet seeming too bold, cost Grimwald his life; but thirty years later a second Pepin, a descendant of the first, became practically ruler of the Franks. He left a son, Carl, a name that in German means emphatically a man, while in English it has been degraded into a churl. This Charles earned the surname of Martel, the "Hammer", by the doughty blows with which he broke down his rivals in a struggle for power, soon turned into a shield for all western Europe.

In A.D. 711 the flame of Islam had leapt across from Africa into Spain to burn up its Gothic kingdom. Except a narrow mountain strip on the north-west all Spain was overrun by the Moors, who next began to push their invasion beyond the Pyrenees. In A.D. 732 the turbaned warrior Abderrahman led a mighty host as far as the Loire, which, had it not been checked, might have carried the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. But there in the heart of France, near Tours, he was met by Charles Martel at the head of the Franks united before a common peril. For a week the armies stood facing each other as if conscious of the momentous issue at stake. Then they clashed in a battle so fierce that the slaughter was counted in hundreds of thousands. That day saved Christendom. The Moors fled, and, though not yet driven back over the Pyrenees, they never again made much head against what was soon to be the western empire.

Such an exploit founded the throne of the Carlovingian house; but still the victor did not presume to take the title of king. The Franks had no titular king at this time, their ruler being the substance of a non-existent shadow. Charles showed so little intention of setting up a great kingdom that when he died (A.D. 741) he divided his dominions between his three sons, Carloman, Pepin, and Grifo. They seem to have felt the anomaly of their position, for they set up a titular *fainéant* king, Childeric III, the last of the Merovingian line. After a few years,

Carloman, the sternest spirit of the three, astonished the world by giving up his Austrasian rule to Pepin, and retiring by his own choice to a monastic life, which he spent in the odour of sanctity. Grifo, the youngest brother, had shown a more ambitious spirit that put him at odds with Pepin, and brought about his death in battle. Thus, in the middle of the century, "Pepin the Short" became real sovereign of the Franks, soon casting about for means of putting a crown upon his authority. He procured from the Pope an opinion that the nominal king, Childeric, should be set aside in his favour; then by this and other influences he won the proud Franks to make him king in title and all. Childeric being tonsured and cloistered, after the usual manner of extinguishing pretensions, Pepin was crowned (A.D. 751) by Boniface, Archbishop of Mainz, the English monk whose devotion to the conversion of Continental heathen brought him saintly fame, worldly honour, and at last martyrdom.

Italy meanwhile remained in a state of turmoil, humorously compared by Dr. Hodgkin to "the litigation which might go on in an English parish between an absentee landlord, a big Nonconformist farmer, and a cultured but acquisitive parson". He might have added —a ritualistic dispute between parson and landlord. Leo the Isaurian and succeeding emperors had stirred up an iconoclastic zeal against images, which met little response in the western branch of the Church; and this hot controversy went to widen the breach between Rome and Constantinople. The farmer, of course, was the Lombard who occupied half of Italy, splitting up the territories of Ravenna and Rome, so that three powers were in the position of carrying on a triangular quarrel breaking out from time to time. At last, in A.D. 751, the Lombard king, Aistulf, conquered the exarchate of Ravenna and threatened the quasi-independence of Rome.

This peril set the Popedom on seeking help from Pepin in return for the service done him by consecrating his title. Pope Stephen crossed the Alps for an interview with the new-made king, who sent to meet him his young son Carl, the future Charlemagne, treated him with marked respect, and undertook to be his champion against the Lombards. The Pope gave an earnest of his gratitude by anointing Pepin and his two sons in confirmation of their royalty, bestowing upon him also that title of Patrician that had been held by former protectors of Rome. Thus commissioned, Pepin invaded Italy with such force that Aistulf was brought to terms of promising to leave Rome in peace and to restore what he had plundered from the territories of the Church. But no sooner had the Frankish king turned his back than the faithless Lombard marched to besiege Rome, from which another piteous cry for help reached Pepin. Spurred by the treachery of Aistulf, he recrossed the Alps, and, again victorious, exacted not only a large indemnity, but the cession of all the territory of the exarchate of Ravenna lately conquered by the Lombards. Then, instead of restoring this domain to the emperor, Pepin handed it over to the Pope, thus making him a temporal ruler *de jure*, as well as

de facto. This was the real erection of the States of the Church as a temporal sovereignty, for the so-called "donation of Constantine" has been given up as a fiction by all historians.

It was in A.D. 756 that Pepin established this claim on the gratitude of Rome. He died A.D. 768, leaving his kingdom divided between his sons Charles and Carloman. These two showed a disposition to fall out, but their dissensions were cut short by the death of Carloman three years later, when Charles was recognized as king of all the Franks, his brother's infant sons being held unfit to rule at such a time. So comes forward upon the scene he who was to prove the hero of his age.

The Frenchified name by which this great king has been best known must not blind us to the fact that Charlemagne (*Carolus Magnus*, Charles the Great) was a Teuton prince with France as part of his dominions. His mother tongue was a German dialect and his favourite residences were on the Rhine, when he had leisure to be at home. The exact date and the place of his birth seem uncertain, but he must have been about thirty when he joined his brother's domain to his own (A.D. 772). Under his father he had served apprentice to kingship; and his mother, Bertrada, was a virtuous queen who did her best to bring him up in gentler graces. Like other princes of the time, he had not been much schooled in books; but he showed marked respect for learning. One of his chief councillors and correspondents was Alcuin, the famous English scholar whom he tempted to France; and among other learned men about his court was the secretary Eginhard, or Einhard, who wrote his life. It may be that the king's illiterateness has been exaggerated, for we hear of his favourite book being St. Augustine's *City of God*, one not likely to appeal to a rude soldier. Eginhard tells us that he learned to write only when grown up, and then with difficulty; this may have been the cause that now came into use a neater style of writing to replace the crabbed characters of early manuscripts. With Alcuin he studied rhetoric, logic, and astronomy; and we hear of him attending another scholar's lectures on grammar. He got written out and learned by heart the old ballads that served for his people's history. He picked up Latin and other languages, but was never strong in Greek, confesses Eginhard. Going daily to church, even at his meals he had edifying books read to him. And the long wars that gave him but little leisure to cultivate the arts of peace were as much stirred by zeal for religion as for conquest, religion in his eyes implying settled order replacing barbarous turbulence.

One of these wars, breaking out repeatedly to last nearly all his long reign, had for its object the conversion and conquest of the Saxons, who filled the unsubdued northern forests of Germany, between the Elbe and the Rhine. The Christian king's method as a missionary was as forceful as that of Islam. Again and again he harried the heathen tribes, forcing them to choose between death and baptism in platoons; but as soon as he turned his back they would

EUROPE
AND THE
SARACEN EMPIRE
AT THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE
English Miles
200 0 200 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Norsemen
NORWEGIANS
Finnish Tribes
Samojeds
Caledonia
Hibernia
SCOTS
BRITONS
Anglo Saxons
London
Frisia
Saxonia
Hamburg
Wends
SWEDES
DANES
Jutes
ESTHONIA
Estians
SLAVES
Volga R.
Ugria
Cumans
Patzinaks
EMPIRE OF THE CHAZARS
Turks and Magyars
Tanais (R. Don)
Turkish Tribes
Khwarism Sea
Sihun R.
Kokan
Ferghana
Bokhara
Mavarannahr
TIBET
Khiva
Jihun R.
Khwarism
Caspian Sea
Alania
Aran
Armenia
Black Sea
Sinope
Ancyra
Constantinople
Bulgaria
R. Danube
Servia
Bohemia
Moravia
Austrasia
Neustria
Paris
Aachen
Nordon
Aquitania
Bordeaux
Milan
Lombardy
Marseille
Corsica
Rome
Gaeta
Benevento
EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE
AVARS
ITALY
ASTURIA
Oviedo
Oporto
R. Douro
WESTERN ANDALUSIA (SPAIN)
Lisbon
Merida
Toledo
CALIPHATE
Cordova
Tarifa
Tangiers
Gibraltar
Fez
Balearic Is.
Sardinia
Sicily
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE
Asia Minor
Smyrna
Athens
Crete
Cyprus
Tarsus
Antioch
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Syria
Cairo
Kulzum (Suez)
Alexandria
Grenna
Cabes
Tunis
Algiers
MEDITERRANEAN SEA (SEA OF SCHAM)
AFRICA
MAGHRIB (Mauritania)
Madeira Is.
Canary Is.
Nun
Tuat
Tammanet
Ghadames
Wadan
SARACEN
Tropic of Cancer
Sahara
Jodala
Bilma
Kuka
SOUDAN
EGYPT
Assuan
Suakin
NUBIA
ABYSSINIA
Red Sea (Bahr Kulzum)
Hedjaz
Medina
Mecca
Nedjd
ARABIA
Yemen
Sana
Mocha
Mahra
Oman
Muscat
Sea of Oman
Sea of Fars
Bahrein
Fars
Shiraz
Kerman
Hormuz
Mekran
Sejestan
Kohistan
Khorasan
Herat
Balkh
Nishapur
Tabaristan
Hamadan
Irak Ajemi
Bagdad
Irak Arabi
Ispahan
Khuzistan
PERSIA
Indus
SIND
INDIA
Socotra I.
INDIAN OCEAN
Longitude East 40 of Greenwich
John Bartholomew & Co., Edinr.

rise to destroy the churches he had built, and to expel or massacre his preachers. Once, provoked by a sore defeat, he is said to have taken vengeance by beheading 4000 to 5000 prisoners in one day. It is not surprising that converts made by such examples were found apt to return to paganism "as a dog to his vomit". But at last Widukind, the Wallace of the Saxons, allowed himself to be baptized, with Charles for godfather; and, though this made by no means an end of their obstinacy, Charles was able to plant the faith firmly among them by building fortresses as well as churches in that outskirt of his dominion.

That was the longest of Charlemagne's wars, lasting off and on for thirty-three years. It was dragged out by the need of making expeditions in other quarters, when the Saxons took occasion to revolt. He crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, and was able to check the Moslem up to the Ebro. He pushed as far east as Hungary to attack the Avars leagued with a rebellious duke of Bavaria; and in their fortress of seven concentric circles his army captured an enormous treasure, the accumulation of their spoils for two centuries, the memory of which may have dazzled poetic imaginations with that dragon-guarded treasure of the Rhine that shines in romantic legends. On the west of France he had battles with the Bretons, as unwilling to be ruled by him as were their kinsmen the Welsh and Cornishmen to obey the Saxon kings of England. Then from time to time he had trouble with conspiracies and risings, as one headed by his illegitimate son Pepin the Hunchback, who aspired to be king and ended by being condemned to monkhood. Few of these rebels were severely punished, declares Eginhard, who puts their disaffection down to the harshness of the king's fourth wife, Fastrada, accused of having for a time warped his natural clemency. In all, Charles and his lieutenants made more than fifty campaigns during his reign of nearly half a century, the most momentous of them a series of interferences in Italy which began soon after his succession to his father's protectorship of Rome.

For all his religious zeal this king was a very Henry VIII in matrimonial relations. He married several wives, not always waiting till he became a widower. His first queen he soon put away to make a marriage with the daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius; then a year later he divorced this lady in turn, and sent her back to her father, apparently as not bringing him an heir. Desiderius, thus provoked to ill will, gave asylum to the widow and children of Carloman, now deceased, and tried to get the Pope to consecrate these boys as rival kings of the Franks. But a new Pope, Adrian I, would not let himself be made, like his predecessor, a tool of the Lombards; and when their king threatened Rome with attack he sent to beg the help of Charles, which was not refused.

In two divisions his army crossed the Alps, no longer a swarm of naked barbarians, but troops of mail-clad horsemen, the precursors of feudal chivalry. Before them the Lombards fell back into Pavia and Verona. The latter city soon surrendered, giving up the widow and children of Carloman who were incitement of the war; but Pavia

held out for the best part of a year, till starved into surrender. While waiting for it to fall, Charles made his first visit to Rome, where, received with effusion, he confirmed his father's grant of territoral jurisdiction to the Papal See. How much he meant to give, and under what restrictions, is matter of controversy; he could not have foreseen how the clashing power of pope and king would long distract Italy. Such seeds of future dissension were overlooked in the joy of deliverance from the Lombards. All the country submitted to Charles, Desiderius being sent into a monastery, and his son escaping to Constantinople, from which later on he was helped to a futile attempt at regaining Italy.

Having thus made himself overlord beyond the Alps, Charles returned to his own kingdom, where his hands were full of other work for nearly a quarter of a century, during which Italy remained quiet under his nominal rule as Patrician, while still the Eastern emperors made a dwindling claim to allegiance, and the Pope grew in power as actual governor on the spot. But at Rome, as elsewhere, there were factions; and when towards the end of the century Leo III became Pope, he was assaulted in the streets, dragged from his horse, beaten and almost blinded, and imprisoned in a monastery, from which he contrived to escape to sanctuary in St. Peter's. The Frankish duke of Spoleto, who had replaced a Lombard vassal, came with a strong force to carry him into safety; and when partly recovered from his injuries he crossed the Alps to throw himself on the justice of a king whom, on his election, he had owned as defender of the Holy See. After hearing the Pope and his accusers, Charles sent back Leo to be honourably reinstated at Rome. Next year, as soon as he was at liberty, he himself followed, to enter Rome in triumph and to give solemn judgment against Leo's adversaries. Then it was that on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, as Charles knelt in prayer before the tomb of St. Peter, the gratified Pope crowned him Emperor and invested him with the purple robe as successor of the Cæsars. It is stated that this honour took Charles by surprise, even that he accepted it against his will. But such a show of reluctance was a usual cloak of imperial ambition; and the king's dissatisfaction may have been at his receiving from the Pope a title he had in view to assume on his own authority. It is suggested that his friend Alcuin, noted for love of classical learning, may have put into his head the idea of reviving a name which had not yet lost its power over men's minds. At all events, on that day was born the Holy Roman Empire, to stand out in Europe for a thousand years, till overthrown by a French sovereign who took Charlemagne as his model. In the applause of Romans and Franks that hailed his coronation, says Viscount Bryce, "was pronounced the union, so long in preparation, so mighty in its consequences, of the Roman and the Teuton, of the memories and the civilization of the South with the fresh energies of the North, and from that moment modern history begins".

His secretary Eginhard reports Charles as saying that he would

not have entered the church had he known beforehand of the Pope's intention, and puts his unwillingness down to fear of offending the Byzantine court, which might well resent this usurpation of its prerogative. But the protests of Constantinople were stifled by its discords. For the first time the mantle of the Cæsars was worn by a woman, the ill-named Irene (*Peace*), whose ambitious career disturbed the empire for a quarter of a century; and to the authors of the Salic law the throne seemed vacant in possession of a queen whom pious chroniclers compared to Athaliah. At first ruling in the name of her feeble son, Constantine VI, she had been temporarily deposed, then another revolution set her up in sole authority as patroness of the image-worshipping sect, poor Constantine being blinded by his mother's partisans. Already there had been an abortive proposal of marriage between this prince and a daughter of Charles, who may thus have hoped to join the East and the West under his sway. It is supposed that now, having lost his fifth wife, he offered his own hand to the termagant of Constantinople, as another way of uniting the two empires. But this doubtful courtship would be broken off by Irene's once more being dethroned; then enemies nearer home crippled the displeasure with which the Eastern emperors saw that trespass on their venerable title.

After more than a year's sojourn the new emperor had gone home from Italy, leaving it to be ruled by his son Pepin as king, crowned with the iron crown of the Lombards. Having two well-tried sons to do his fighting for him, Charlemagne could now take more ease at Aachen, called in French Aix-la-Chapelle from the chapel built by him beside a palace, to which he seems to have been attracted by the hot springs that gave the place its name, *Aix*, from the Latin *aqua*, being akin to our *Esks*, *Usks*, and *Uisks*. Another favourite residence of his was Ingelheim, on the Rhine, below Mainz. Here he could spend much time in hunting through the forests of the Rhine; but still he had to take a turn now and then at the recalcitrant Saxons and the Danes, their backers in heathendom, both of whom he walled off from the empire by a line of fortresses. Too late he learned that it had need to be protected by wooden walls against the incursions of the Norse pirates. At the very end of his reign he ordered the building of a great fleet, which, like Napoleon after him, he reviewed at Boulogne. It is told how once, helplessly watching from Narbonne an incursion of sea rovers on the Mediterranean coast, the great sovereign wept to think of the miseries these far-reaching Vikings would bring upon his people.

When in A.D. 802 he held an assemblage of his subjects to swear fidelity to him as emperor and to make an attempt at comparing and codifying their various laws, Charlemagne was the greatest prince of his time, his dominion stretching from the Elbe to the Ebro, from the Danube to the Channel. While he was still at Rome, the patriarch of Jerusalem had sent him the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, as if acknowledging him the protector of Christendom. Now to the Rhine

came more than one embassy from Haroun-al-Raschid—Aaron, king of Persia, he is called by the chroniclers—the Baghdad Caliph of the Arabian Nights, who seems to have confirmed the Western potentate as owner of the Christian shrines at Jerusalem, also wooing his friendship by such gifts as costly spices and oriental webs, a splendid pavilion of many colours, a wonderful water-clock from which twelve knights came out at the striking of each hour upon cymbals; and last but not least in the marvel of the Franks, a huge elephant which was nearly two years on the way to Aachen, and there lived for eight years, dying when taken on a campaign against Denmark. There came an embassy also from the Moorish Emir of Cordova, who, as having more to fear from Charlemagne, was not less willing to be civil. English kings, too, sought his favour; and Offa of Mercia proposed a double family marriage, which did not come off. There are even misty traces of a treaty with a king of Scotland, living at the foot of Ben Nevis; but Eginhard appears to exaggerate in saying that his master's munificence won the Scots to speak of him always as their liege lord; and the Scots of that day were *par excellence* the Irish. Egbert of Wessex sought refuge with the emperor from the final struggles of the Heptarchy. Envoys from Constantinople came and went; then at last, after twelve years, the Byzantine Court sullenly agreed to recognize the lord of the West as emperor in exchange for a cession of Venetia and other Adriatic territory. Henceforth there need be no doubt in distinguishing the Greek and the Roman empires.

The veteran warrior was by no means idle even in his less active days. He had letters written to the stewards of his private domains, giving them minute instructions as to farming, fruit growing, fishery, and other industries; and on a larger scale he set a good example of husbandry in clearing forests, draining swamps, turning wildernesses into fields and pastures, as well as dotting his wide realm with churches and monasteries. By the hand of his secretary, we are to suppose, since his own fingers were so stiff at the pen, he carried on a correspondence with the scholars he patronized in a more friendly spirit than Frederic the Great afterwards showed to Voltaire: there are marks of humorous banter in this literary circle, addressed by each other with playful sobriquets, the emperor being known as David, and Alcuin as Horace, whose special devotion seems to have been rather to Virgil. Unread as Charlemagne may have been in his youth, he gave ample encouragement to the letters, arts, and science of his age. He brought singers and musicians out of Italy to refine the rude church services of the Franks. The founding of schools and libraries in connection with monasteries was his special care. He kept a school at his court for the sons of nobles, among whom were admitted some boys of humbler birth. Of this a monkish chronicler tells that, the emperor one day holding an examination in which the exercises of the young plebeians proved far better done than those of their no doubt supercilious schoolfellows, he made them stand respectively on his right and left hand, like sheep and goats at the day of judgment, con-

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CHARLEMAGNE

Statue in bronze by Roche.: in front of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris

gratulating the good scholars with a promise of abbeys and bishoprics; then turning to the trembling idlers he rebuked them in a voice of thunder: "You, sons of the first men in the kingdom, proud of your birth, neglect your studies for play and pastime, but know that you shall have no favour from me if you do not amend".

Thanks to the admiring Eginhard, we know a good deal about the private life of this great man. He was truly great in stature, towering above the heads of his attendants, a king among men, with noble nose and pleasant countenance, in old age set off by white hair. In dress he was simple, affecting the Frankish costume of blue cloak, linen shirt, and tunic above drawers and gartered hose; it is specially noted that he wore shoes, and in winter a cape of furs. Only on state occasions did he robe himself in the gorgeous mantle of his dignity.[1] Charlemagne was temperate in his fare, and had a horror of drunkenness not shared by his subjects. He was very fond of swimming, given to display his skill in the hot baths of Aachen among his friends and his guards, so that sometimes more than a hundred would be bathing together with him. He liked to have his children about him always, especially the daughters, his passionate love for whom stood in the way of their marriage, as he could not bear to part with them. So says Eginhard, who may have had some reason to find fault with this paternal fondness, if the tale be true that he made a stealthy match with his master's daughter Emma, whose name, however, is unknown to history. The legend has it that, when this aspiring secretary went courting one night, he was like to be betrayed by a sudden fall of snow to take the print of his footsteps; then the loving princess carried him on her back across the courtyard, which conduct, being observed by her father, he was naturally surprised and scandalized, but in the end gave his blessing to the match. Eginhard's own story has not a word of such a romantic incident.

By his succession of wives and concubines the emperor had a large family, whom he took care to educate well. Of his three legitimate sons, the two eldest, Carl and Pepin, his lieutenants in war, died before him, to his sore grief. He had already, after the example of his predecessors, divided his territories in advance between them and their brother Louis, who was a prince of a different temper, gentle, weak, and disposed to consecrate his life to the Church, had his father allowed. Charles was to succeed in the patrimonial Frankish domain; Pepin was already king of Italy, to which became added the conquests on the Danube; Louis was set up as lord of Aquitaine and southern France. But when only Louis was left, a few months before his own death, Charlemagne had him crowned as heir to all the empire, for want of a better. His name, so often to figure in history under various spellings, will hardly be recognized in the Latin chronicler's *Hludowicus*, said to be derived from two Teuton words meaning "famous god of

[1] We must sometimes smile at the way in which loosely draped Greeks and Romans speak of breeches as a mark of barbarity, Gaulish or Persian, whereas the old masters of the world distinguished themselves as the *gens togata*—"the gowned people".

war", and thus ill fitting this Louis as one that "would rather go with Sir Priest than Sir Knight".

A little before, Charlemagne had made a will which shows him looking for death or for retirement from the world. In his last few years, says Eginhard, he was troubled by feverish attacks and lameness, but would not listen to his physicians because they recommended him boiled instead of roast meat. When, in the beginning of A.D. 814, he was taken ill, he insisted on prescribing for himself a lowering diet, which did not avail, for after a week in bed he died at the age of seventy-two, and was buried in the chapel that made the nucleus of Aachen's cathedral, where his tomb may still be seen. When two centuries had passed, it was opened by his successor, Otto III, to find the great emperor's stately form seated in robe and crown on a marble throne with an open Gospel on his knees. Eginhard does not fail to record the eclipses and other prodigies that had seemed to presage his death.

Round his memory soon gathered a halo that made him a hero of fabulous romance as well as a saint of the Church. The monks and minstrels who were the inexact historians of his time confounded him first with his grandfather, Charles Martel, then with later crusaders, whose exploits carry him to Jerusalem, without regard to geography or chronology. The most famous of these legends seems founded on the fact that on his retreat from an expedition to Spain, in a gorge of the Pyrenees, a band of Basque mountaineers overwhelmed his rearguard, killing among the rest a brave leader named Hruodlandus. This was the famous Roland or Orlando, the chant of whose gallant death inspirited the Normans at the battle of Senlac; and the Basques, too, had a song of triumph for a not very glorious victory which they repeated in the same pass soon after Charlemagne's death. These two fights, perhaps confused with others, made a groundwork for the story of how Roland was betrayed to the Saracens by Ganilon, the only traitor among the emperor's peers; how he held the pass of Roncesvalles against a huge army of them till accidentally wounded to death by his faithful comrade, Oliver; how then, and only then, he called for help by sounding his ivory horn so loudly that at the third blast it burst; how, far away in France, Charlemagne caught that well-known signal, and how he hurried back to find the flower of his chivalry dead in the pass, where a rocky gap is named the "Breach of Roland", as cleft by the last stroke of the hero's magic sword, Durandal. All this romance swelled out of a very commonplace incident, thus told by Eginhard:—

When the line of march was stretched out through the narrowness of the pass, the Gascons, having placed an ambush on the top of the height, as the thick woods made easy for them, suddenly rushed down into the hollow upon the rearguard and the baggage in its charge. In the fight that followed, this division was cut to pieces and the baggage carried off, the assailants being helped by darkness to scatter quickly away. In such an affair the Gascons had the best of it through their light equipment and

the nature of the country, while the weight of the Franks' armour and the broken ground put them altogether at a disadvantage. In this fight were killed Eggihardus the prefect of the king's table, Anselmus the count of the palace, and Hruodlandus the prefect of the Breton march.

French romancers, who have adoped Charlemagne for a national hero, as much a Frenchman as the Corsican Buonaparte, make him hold his court at Paris amid his twelve peers or paladins, who perform such wonderful feats of valour against the Saracens, a name that came to stand for all sorts of miscreancy. In fact, Roland, Oliver, Ogier, and the rest are the true heroes of French *chansons de geste*, based upon the unhistorical chronicle attributed to Archbishop Turpin, and evidently edited, if not composed, to tickle the pride of feudal barons who were a minstrel's best patrons in a period of feeble kingship. They even belittle the great emperor, shown as childishly capricious and tyrannous, behaving unjustly through fondness for his unworthy son Charlot, who figures as an anti-hero in these stories, where the traitor Gan is the most deeply dyed villain, faithless both to the cross and the throne. As chief cause of rancour between the emperor and his peers appears Charlot's quarrelling with some better man than himself over a game of chess, and killing him with the golden chessboard; then his doting father protects him against due revenge. It is very doubtful if chess had been introduced into Europe till a century or two later; but that consideration would not trouble chroniclers accustomed to annihilate time and space at will.

Even the birth of Charlemagne came to be subject of popular fiction with well-worn incidents. His mother Bertrada, always cherished and respected by him, became Bertha with the Big Foot, a foreign princess, whom Pepin had sent to woo in the person of his steward. It is perhaps a hint of arbitrary proceedings on the part of Mayors of the Palace that stewards usually play the villain in medieval romance; and this steward, having conceived the idea of substituting his daughter for the right queen, gave over Bertha to be slain by two ruffians in a lonely forest. But they, relenting like the robbers of our Babes in the Wood story, brought back to their employer the tongue of a dog and the shirt of the princess steeped in blood as signs of her death, while they let her go to find refuge in the home of a friendly miller, where she learned to spin and live in simple content. After a time, Charlemagne, while out hunting, loves the unknown spinster; and in the end all goes well with her, the false wife being duly discovered and punished according to poetic justice. This tale, told in different ways, is akin to that more widely known one of Geneviève de Brabant.

Another tale makes a daughter of Pepin the mother of Roland, who was thus Charlemagne's nephew. The German ballads describe him as reared in obscure poverty, his mother having fallen into disgrace through a love affair, like that of Emma and Eginhard; then, in her need, she sends the boy to beg at the court, which he does in such a masterful manner as to disclose his noble birth, and win his uncle's

favour for a promising lad who, according to a variant legend, wins his spurs in boyhood by playing David to a Frankish Goliath while his father lies asleep. The romance of Emma and Eginhard ends by the emperor losing his way, falling asleep, and having his sword boldly stolen by a young varlet who turns out to be his own grandson, such a chip of the old block that all is forgotten and forgiven. In general German legends show the hero in an heroic light, extolling his wisdom and magnanimity, his hunting adventures and feats of strength, though they, too, sometimes present him in humorous situations, no such immaculate or imposing personage as our Arthur stands out in deeper shadow.

The difference between Kaiser and King shown in these legends points to the imminent splitting up of the empire into a confusion from which would emerge modern France and Germany, one carrying off the Frankish name, the other the imperial title. Charles' son, Louis, bore the byname of the *Debonnaire*, with the alias of "the Pious", both showing him too gentle and too scrupulous to control his turbulent vassals, most quarrelsome among them his three sons, by whom he was twice deposed, to be restored as a relief from their insolence. When he left a world in which such a spirit was ill at home (A.D. 840) the sons, Lothaire, Louis, and Charles the Bald, fell to hot fighting, till after two or three years their followers had enough of it and forced them to an agreement for dividing the empire. Lothaire, with the Roman crown, had the centre, including Italy; Louis the lands to the east; and Charles the western side mainly representing ancient Gaul. This partition, known as that of Verdun (A.D. 843), is taken as the birth date of Germany, when a people speaking a Teuton language was definitely separated from the Romanized Celts by a broad belt of more blended race. But the settlement did not last long, since the brothers' strife went on; and after Lothaire's death his share was again divided, for his three sons, into the kingdoms of Italy, Burgundy, and the *Lotharingia* which we know as Lorraine.

When all these uneasy crowned heads were laid in the dust, towards the end of the century, there remained but two legitimate descendants of Charlemagne, both of them vainly inheriting his name. One being a child, the other, Charles the Fat, for a moment seized the whole of his great ancestor's dominions, which he proved so unfit to hold or defend as to be soon deposed (A.D. 877). Then the French, as we may now call them, set up that child, known as Charles the Simple, while the Germans chose as their head Arnulf of Bavaria, an illegitimate scion of the great emperor's house. He was crowned emperor at Rome, but, struck down by illness, soon had to betake himself beyond the Alps, leaving Italy to two generations of discordant independence. At the same time one vassal took opportunity to set himself up as king of Arles in the old Roman Provence; and another as king of Burgundy beneath the Jura. Lorraine also went loose from the empire, to be long a bone of contention between France and Germany. So by the end of the ninth century Charlemagne's dominion had gone asunder

into half a dozen kingdoms, and his proud title seemed almost lost in the storms by which once more Europe was wrecked. Yet none the less a thoughtful historian can speak thus of what he did for the world.

The coronation of Charles is not only the central event of the Middle Ages, it is also one of those very few events of which, taking them singly, it may be said that if they had not happened, the history of the world would have been different. In one sense indeed it has scarcely a parallel. The assassins of Julius Cæsar thought that they had saved Rome from monarchy, but monarchy became inevitable in the next generation. The conversion of Constantine changed the face of the world, but Christianity was spreading fast, and its ultimate triumph was only a question of time. Had Columbus never spread his sails, the secret of the western sea would yet have been pierced by some later voyager; had Charles V broken his safe conduct to Luther, the voice silenced at Wittenberg would have been taken up by echoes elsewhere. But if the Roman Empire had not been restored in the West in the person of Charles, it would never have been restored at all, and the inexhaustible train of consequences for good and for evil that followed could not have been. Why this was so may be seen by examining the history of the next two centuries. In that day, as through all the Dark and Middle Ages, two forces were striving for the mastery. The one was the instinct of separation, disorder, anarchy, caused by the ungoverned impulses and barbarous ignorance of the great bulk of mankind; the other was that passionate longing of the better minds for a formal unity of government, which had its historical basis in the memories of the old Roman Empire, and its most constant expression in the devotion to a visible and catholic Church. The former tendency, as everything shows, was, in politics at least, the stronger, but the latter, used and stimulated by an extraordinary genius like Charles, achieved in the year 800 a victory whose results were never to be lost. When the hero was gone, the returning wave of anarchy and barbarism swept up violent as ever, yet it could not wholly obliterate the past: the Empire, maimed and shattered though it was, had struck its roots too deep to be overthrown by force, and when it perished at last, perished from inner decay.—Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire.*

CHAPTER II

Alfred (A.D. 849–901)

Charlemagne had lived to see Europe harassed by a new flight of robbers, against whom he could not make head so well as against Saxons and Saracens. These were Scandinavian pirates of the same Teuton stock, and worshipping the same heathen Pantheon, as those successive swarms of warriors that had attacked the empire by land, each in turn to be civilized and converted. The shores of the Baltic peninsulas are indented with deep fiords and other harbours, out of which hardy adventurers launched forth, the more boldly when, probably from the Romans, they learned the use of sails, whereas the kindred Anglo-Saxon tribes that had already settled in England seem to have gone no farther than rowboats could venture. But the spirit was the same that carries their descendants to-day to seek fortune in America or Australia by less violent means. A Baltic chief's younger sons would sail away in quest of booty, perhaps to be lost in a storm or wrecked on a hostile coast, perhaps to return so heavily laden that the cargo of plunder might sink the ship, whose crew must swim naked to land. That was the legendary fate of Half's Argo, who chose no shipmates but such as could raise a mighty stone in his father's courtyard, and all were sworn never to seek refuge from a tempest nor to bind up their wounds in battle.

For three centuries these Norse Sea Kings were to make themselves dreaded under different names, Northmen or Normans, Danes, and Vikings, that is "bay" or "harbour" men, from the same root as we find in Lerwick and Ipswich. Their craft, of which specimens have been preserved from the tooth of time, were long open boats with high prows, often ornamented with a dragon's head or some such fearsome device, their square sails gaily painted, and their decks bulwarked with the shields of the warrior crew, sixty to a hundred strong, who took turns at the oars if the wind did not serve. When a fleet of such "dragon ships" had found its way safely to some unprotected coast they would enter an estuary, rowing up it as far as they could, then landing to ensconce themselves in a fortified camp, from which they might sally forth to rob, burn, and slaughter with reckless cruelty, delighting in the fits of blood drunkenness that drove their Berserker champions to run amok, like Malay desperadoes. They had their will of inhabitants tamed by Christianity and fallen out of the use of arms; the poorly fortified towns could offer little resistance, and much of the land was now in the possession of monks, against whom those heathen

showed themselves specially fierce. So easy were their victories that the raids, at first merely for plunder and bloodshed, soon became settlements spreading inland from their landing places, which by trenches and palisades they turned into strongholds.

The coasts of Britain lay obvious to those pirates, who early had made lodgments in Ireland, and about the end of the eighth century began to prey on the sundered English kingdoms, giving them rough reasons for unity. In A.D. 793 the Holy Isle of Lindisfarne was laid waste, and soon afterwards the same fate fell upon Northumbrian monasteries. Scarcely had Egbert brought the Heptarchy under his overlordship (A.D. 828) than England was attacked from both sides, the Norsemen having now gained a footing on the French coast also, while in the west the turbulent Welsh were ready to lend them a hand against the Saxon. At first mere hasty dashes with retreat before force could be gathered to stop them, by the middle of the century their inroads became more persistent from a fixed base; and, year after year, the curt Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has to tell how king or alderman was called to battle with such ravagers.

The year A.D. 851 is noted as that when "the heathen men first sat over winter in Thanet". Yet in that year, at Ockley below Leith Hill, Egbert's successor, Ethelwulf, faced the invaders so sternly that the land seems to have gained a respite during the short reigns of his sons Ethelbald and Ethelbert; then the third brother, Ethelred, had again to fight for his broken domain. Edmund, king of East Anglia, was made a target for Danish arrows, one head of which remained embedded in the tree to which this English St. Sebastian was bound, when it fell in our Victorian time; and the curious log church at Greensted, on the edge of Epping Forest, is believed to have been built as a resting place for the martyr's body, carried back from London to the once venerated shrine of Bury St. Edmunds. The monastery on Thorney Island, precursor of Westminster Abbey, was sacked by the Danes; and for a time ruined London became a nest for such hornets. The ornaments of churches made a tempting bait for robbers who pushed inland upon the rich Fenland Abbeys, breaking the loose tie that had joined the north and the south. The creeks and estuaries of Essex opened it as a hunting ground, where to this day more than one church preserves such a grim relic as a scrap of Dane's skin once nailed on the door like a warning to vermin; and the countryfolk tell their children how the red berries of the *daneswort* were stained with blood in those days of dread, when tradition takes the ancient quarries called Dene holes to have been refuges from Danish ravage. The Saxons had few towns and little turn for fortification, so there was nothing to stay raids, so numerous at different points that a defending force might hardly know which way to turn against hydra-heads of invasion. The generation after Egbert saw almost all England overrun, north of the Thames and south of the Tyne; and though driven back from an inroad on Ethelred's own Wessex kingdom, a body of Danes held the mouth of the Thames and had

fixed a strong camp as far up as Reading when in A.D. 871 Ethelwulf's fifth son, Alfred, came to his shaking throne.

In such a troubled time grew up the noblest of our English kings, his virtues and exploits better attested than the halo of romance that crowns the British Arthur, some of whose legendary renown seems to have been borrowed from this Saxon hero. Alfred was born about the middle of the century, on the Berkshire Downs, probably at Wantage, where the site of his father's home can be traced. His mother seems to have died while he was still very young, which interferes with the story that she offered an illuminated book to the first of her sons who should learn it by heart, and that Alfred won the prize from his brothers, who were, in fact, too much his seniors to be fellow scholars. But there need be no doubt that the child took more kindly than most to books; and he had an early chance of educational advantages better than he might find at home. In his fifth year his father sent him to Rome in charge of that Bishop Swithin whose funeral at Winchester was delayed for forty days by rain, thereby giving name to a lingering superstition which indeed flourished in other countries in connection with other saints whose days happen to fall at a time when the weather is apt to break.

At Rome Alfred remained for two or three years, fetched home by his father, who, on the way, took him to the court of Charles the Bald, and brought back along with him a stepmother in that monarch's daughter Judith. This marriage, it would appear, did not altogether please his people nor his grown-up sons, for the old king was forced into retirement, and soon left Alfred an orphan. Then Judith actually married her eldest stepson, and after his death Baldwin, Count of Flanders, from whom descended Matilda, William the Conqueror's wife.

The boy was too young to have learned much at Rome, where yet its associations may have impressed on his mind the zeal for religion and learning shown in his after life. There were scholars in England, that had sent Alcuin of York to be an ornament of Charlemagne's court. The future royal author would not go without instruction, while under his brothers he could hardly fail to learn the arts then more indispensable to leaders of men. He married at nineteen, and was little over age when he became king (A.D. 871), soon after playing a chief part in the battle of Ashdown, the greatest of several fought that year for the defence of Wessex. A month after his brother's death Alfred was again fighting with the Danes, but could not dislodge them from their entrenched lair at the confluence of the Kennet with the Thames. He was fain for the nonce to buy off the enemy, as had been done too often in other parts of England, the payment of such ransom or tribute making invitation to another profitable foray. The Danes drew back to London, and Wessex was left in peace for a time while they turned their arms northwards.

Alfred had three years respite in which to prepare for the next attack. He had a lesson what to expect in the fate of Mercia, the

central kingdom, which in vain had also bought off that faithless enemy. On the eastern side of England, above the Thames, the Danes were now settled under their king, Guthrum, with York for their centre of ravaging. They soon invaded Mercia, ruining its capital, Repton, and driving out its king to take refuge at Rome. Of no such soft temper was his brother-in-law, Alfred, who had now to look for that enemy's coming on him by land or sea.

In A.D. 876 a Danish force lodged itself in Wareham, at the back of the Isle of Purbeck, a Roman fortress, a Saxon port of note, and a place of natural strength by its position on a ridge between two rivers. Here Alfred assailed them so stoutly that the marauders swore, their most binding oath, "upon the holy ring", to leave Wessex, a pledge they did not keep. Those of them who had got horses galloped off across country to Exeter, while the rest stayed at Wareham, apparently waiting for a fleet on its way from Denmark. The fleet came but was dashed to pieces by a storm on the cliffs of Swanage, with great loss of ships and men. This disaster drove the garrison of Wareham to slip off and join their comrades at Exeter, where again they were besieged and starved out by Alfred. The people of this country were half Welsh, among whom the Danes may have hoped to find succour. Once more they were forced to a treaty, undertaking to withdraw into Mercia.

But Alfred did ill to dismiss his *fyrd* or levy, trusting that the enemy would lie quiet in their winter quarters at Gloucester, as was the usual way of such campaigns upon rain-swamped ground cut up by unbridged streams. The Danes seem to have got reinforcements, and in the depth of winter suddenly burst into Wessex again, spoiling and slaying from Chippenham as their new centre. This time the country, taken by surprise, was completely overrun, its army scattered, and its king lost to view. He had ensconced himself on a low mound rising above the flooded levels of Sedgemoor, which he fortified after the example of the enemy, and joined it to firm land by a causeway over an else impassable morass. This fastness is taken to be Athelney, "Isle of nobles", now a mere plot of ground inconspicuous among the drained pastures, but then a veritable islet in the fens of the Parrett. The more prominent knoll of Boroughbridge, a mile or so off, seems more fit to be the Ararat on which rested the ark of England's fortunes amid the Danish deluge. But Alfred should have known his own asylum; and it was on Athelney that his gratitude for deliverance afterwards took the form of a Benedictine monastery, its site marked by a modern monument. There he held himself while the pagans, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "drove many of the people over the sea, and of the rest the greatest part they rode down and subdued to their will, all but Alfred the king".

It is to this short and obscure episode of hiding among Somerset marshes that belong the famous legends about our hero, his burning the goodwife's cakes, his venturing into the Danish camp in disguise of a minstrel, his giving half his loaf to a poor pilgrim who revealed

himself as St. Cuthbert with a promise of eventual victory. This much is certain, that he not only held his camp of refuge, but sallied out to make raids on the Danes, growing bolder no doubt as fresh followers found their way to rally round him, even if we do not accept the romantic account of 500 armed men appearing as by miracle at the blast of his horn: "and when his friends heard it they were glad, and when his enemies heard it they feared".

The Saxons were more authentically encouraged by a defeat of the Danes in Devonshire, when the capture of their sacred Raven banner must have been to them an ill omen. In the spring of A.D. 879 Alfred was able to gather an army on Kingsettle Hill, above Stourton, at a sacred stone now replaced by King Alfred's Tower that loftily overlooks Dorset and Somerset on either hand. Gaining fresh strength as he went, the king marched north to encounter the Danes at "Ethandune", the honour of which name is claimed for the highest of the Somerset Polden Hills, but it seems better identifiable with a Wiltshire down near Trowbridge, where a gigantic White Horse cut on the turf has been supposed to commemorate this decisive victory, as another in Berkshire that of Ashdown, in Alfred's first "year of battles". For now the Danes were driven back with great slaughter to their camp, and closely besieged till they agreed not only to make peace but to confirm it by their king's baptism. Baptized the fierce Guthrum and his chiefs, thirty in all, were by Alfred's own hands, at Aller, near Athelney, a parish that fondly boasts its ancient font as used on that occasion. The christening feast was kept at Alfred's house of Wedmore in the valley of the Axe; hence the treaty then made is known as the peace of Wedmore. It is too much to hope that the twelve days' banquet celebrating this pact went off with strict temperance; and it may be feared that the Danish king's conversion was little more than homage to a God of Battles declared against him.

By this arrangement was given up to the Danes that half of England henceforth known as the Danelaw, marked by their *kirks*, *nesses*, and *bys*, while the south side, left to the Saxons, is more thickly sprinkled with *hams* and *steads*. Guthrum and his men returned to what was now recognized as their territory, and showed a disposition to settle down by partitioning the lands. Yet fresh bands of hungry heathen swooped on the coasts to disturb Alfred's task of rebuilding his ruined kingdom, reaching from the mouth of the Thames to the Exe. Watling Street, that ancient north-western highway, still leading out of London as the Edgware Road, was fixed as western boundary of the Danelaw, beyond which Mercia was restored under a king who married Alfred's daughter. The one region of our country that, all along, strangely seems to have been freest from Norse incursions was the stretch from the Tyne to the Forth, so that the Scottish Lowland is in a sense the most purely English part of Britain. The Jutes and Angles of the Danelaw, for their part, seem to have accepted Danish mastership as no too galling change from the domination of the southern Saxons.

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FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is the earliest history of this country in *English*. The first part of it, from 55 B.C. to the reign of Alfred, is believed to have been compiled by order of King Alfred. The copy here shown (*British Museum, Cotton MS.*) was written about the end of the 11th century. The passage reproduced above refers to the Danish invasion in 871 and the great victory of Ethelred and Alfred at Ashdown.

A heavy task now was the Wessex king's, and sturdily he undertook it. Towns, monasteries, and churches had everywhere been so much destroyed that the scattered and impoverished Saxons might readily have relapsed into barbarism. They owed it to Alfred that a degree of civilization was restored, which spread even among their hostile neighbours. He had the houses of God rebuilt; and in reconstructing the towns he seems to have taken a lesson from the enemy to protect them by fortifications such as had served the Danes so well. Schools were his special care, it being his desire that every freeborn son should read the Scriptures in English. He brought learned clerks from abroad to help in this work of national education. A foreigner in a sense was the British scholar Asser, reared at St. David's, who was to Alfred much what Alcuin was to Charlemagne, and, like Eginhard, wrote a life of his patron, which, however, seems not so trustworthy. It is possible that some of our grammar schools are descendants of those established by Alfred at restored cloisters, but it seems a fond tradition that makes him founder of Oxford University.

At his court, like Charlemagne, Alfred kept a school; and the king himself turned head teacher of his people. As to some of the books that pass under his name, there may be a doubt as to his being author and not rather publisher or editor. There is a hint that, like Charlemagne, he had not the pen of a ready writer, though in either case there can be no question as to their love of knowledge; and it is confessed that Alfred employed Asser to translate hard passages. The books he brought out to spread useful knowledge through Wessex were indeed translations, very freely treated with an eye to the needs of English readers; and he may at least have the credit of choosing, inspiring, and superintending a work perhaps put into the hands of the scholars he kept about him. The principal books that pass under his name are the general history by Orosius, a disciple of St. Augustine; the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius; the dialogues on Pastoral Care of St. Gregory; and the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, which made the oldest English annals. He is said to have translated, or had translated, the Bible in whole or in part. Besides some minor works attributed to him, Alfred had probably to do with improving the records of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which supplies a sort of Annual Register of events, compiled in monasteries, and carried on for nearly a century beyond the Norman Conquest. This king appears to have cherished the old ballads that hitherto had been the staple of history; but he was the Herodotus of his time as beginner of English prose, and his Wessex speech became the Attic dialect of Saxon. For us this must be retranslated, as has been done by Dr. W. J. Sedgefield for the best-known of Alfred's works, his version of Boethius. Whatever was the hand that wrote, we can understand that the king poured out his own soul in passages which, as our translator points out, are not in the original, passages showing him our first philosopher, while many of such

interpolations aim at christianizing the merely classic morality of his author.

No man is better for his power, but for his skill he is good, if he is good, and for his skill he is worthy of power if he is worthy of it. Study Wisdom, then, and when ye have learnt it, contemn it not, for I tell you that by its means ye may without fail attain to power, yea, even though not desiring it. Ye need not take thought for power, nor endeavour after it, for if ye are only wise and good it will follow you, even though ye seek it not. . . .

I desired instruments and materials to carry out the work I was set to do, which was that I should virtuously and fittingly administer the authority committed to me. Now no man, as thou knowest, can get full play for his natural gifts, nor conduct, and administer government, unless he hath fit tools and the raw material to work upon. By material I mean that which is necessary to the exercise of natural powers; thus a king's raw material and instruments of rule are a well-peopled land, and he must have men of prayer, men of war, and men of work. . . .

Without Wisdom no faculty can be fully brought out, for whatsoever is done unwisely can never be accounted as skill. To be brief, I may say that it has as ever been my desire to live honourably while I was alive, and after my death to leave to them that should come after me my memory in good works. . . .

Why will ye not enquire after the wise men and those that coveted honours, what manner of men they were that came before you? And why will ye not, when ye have found out their manner of life, copy them with might and main? For they strove after honour in this world and set themselves to win good report with good works, and wrought a goodly example for those that came after.

The laws of England, too, Alfred remade, not, as he lets us know, without consent of his Witan (Council of Wise Men), which would develop into a parliament demanding the king's consent for its legislation. His part here was comparing and harmonizing the laws of Wessex, Mercia, and Kent into a Code which he heads with the Ten Commandments, as a sign that religion as well as custom is to be its sanction; and he provides for spiritual as well as temporal penalties. "Such laws as seemed to me rightest I have collected here; and the rest I have let drop." His code, marked as it is with the barbarism and superstition of the time, shows an earnest desire to do impartial justice; and tradition makes him a severe judge of the judges who were his deputies in administration of the law.

In foreign relations he was not less active, sending embassies into distant countries, collecting geographical information, encouraging commerce, and doing all in his power to bring England in touch with the nascent civilization of the Continent. He rewarded with ennoblement any merchant who had ventured three voyages to the Mediterranean. He brought into the country foreign artificers to teach it not only useful but ornamental industries. Of his patronage of one such, a memorial is the celebrated "Alfred Jewel", found near Athelney and now in the Ashmolean Museum, a polished crystal set

in a gold case, with the inscription *Alfred had me made.* A practical device attributed to him was measuring time by candles, marked in sections and made to burn steadily within a lantern of thin horn. In this matter he was behind the Baghdad Caliphs with their water clocks; but Alfred's motive made his invention fine: he was careful to give half his hours to God as he gave half his income, and all of both for the good of his people. With so many calls upon him, indeed, it is surprising to find him able to send gifts to Rome and to foreign monasteries, even as far off as to mission settlements in India. The regular intercourse between England and Rome is notable. And among other visitors to Alfred's realm the Chronicle for A.D. 891 records, along with a comet, three "Scots" from Ireland named Dubslane, Macbeth, and Maelinmun, who "would go on a pilgrimage for the love of God, they cared not whither".

Amid these varied cares Alfred's chief occupation must have been the defence of the kingdom, still threatened by Danish neighbours and invaders. He reorganized the army, dividing it into two parts, one to go on active service while the other stayed at home as an *arrière ban.* He appears to have learned from the Danes the use of cavalry and of fortified camps. He has the name of starting an English navy, for he saw how the Danes might be met on what seemed their own element. His eldest brother, or uncle, Athelstan, had already equipped a few ships; now Alfred built a considerable fleet, which, before the end of his reign, secured him the mastery of the Channel. These vessels he found means to construct larger and speedier than those of his assailants. And if he was at first fain to man them with foreign mercenaries, Frisians and the like—even "pirates" our earliest bluejackets are called—we need not doubt that he soon awoke the Saxon readiness to be at home on salt water. The king himself, though we hear little of his personal prowess, was a right warrior who led his forces in a dozen battles, often to victory, and he must have had skill in generalship. There is no sign of his martial career being crippled by an obscure complaint from which he suffered all his life, a "thorn in the flesh", which, as in the case of St. Paul, has been guessed at as epilepsy. Unless for fits of disablement, he could have been no bodily weakling who kept such a high spirit through the labours and trials that saved England from wreck, in spite of what he describes as a sword of Damocles hanging always over him.

Six years after the pact of Wedmore the Danelaw broke it by a fresh attack, but this time was more readily brought to terms. Guthrum now gave up London, which for a generation had lain desolate, its commerce driven away by piracy, its wealth plundered by the bands that had repeatedly made it their headquarters. By Alfred it was restored in such a way that he may be called the refounder of a city whose commerce returned as soon as he could make its approaches safe. He built new streets and gates, and repaired the Roman walls, behind which the Danes later on left traces of their presence in the

names of their saints, Magnus and Olaf. Another sign of their temporary domination is the word *hustings*, originally such popular assemblies as the Saxon folk-mote. Winchester appears to have been taken as Alfred's capital, but in his moving life he must have spent much time at London, though it was treated as belonging not to Wessex but to the dependent kingdom of Mercia.

When next the Danes came in force from over the sea they found the Thames guarded by a fortified city, London Bridge made into a keep closing the passage of the river, and some sort of fort perhaps built where afterwards stood the Tower. One Hastings was the leader of this invasion, that cost a good deal of fighting before the Danes were driven across the country to Exeter, the Severn valley, and as far as Chester. In A.D. 896 another swarm of them, foiled by the defences of London, turned up the Lea, rowing or hauling their vessels for 20 miles or so on a stream that may then have been fuller than when it delighted Isaak Walton, and cleaner than in its present canalized harness. Alfred set upon them with the men of London, building forts and diverting the channel so as to bottle up their ships, which were taken; but the Danes, breaking out, made off into the west country, there hunted down to dispersal. They fled into the Danelaw, or, beyond the seas, sought some foe less doughty than the resourceful king of Wessex.

This was the last of Alfred's land campaigns, his long ships seeming now to have kept the Danes off, unless for mischievous raids upon the south coast. In A.D. 900 or 901 he died, not much over fifty, after a pregnant reign of some thirty years. His predecessors had been buried in Wimborne and Sherborne Minsters, but his body was taken to that of Winchester, and afterwards removed to Hyde Abbey in the outskirts of the city, of which abbey nothing remains but a gateway. In the Vandal period of the Georges its ruins are said to have been used for road mending, so the illustrious dust they enshrined may be crying *Siste Viator, heroa calcas!* to unwitting wayfarers. To make up for such neglect of Alfred's tomb there has now been erected at Winchester a stately statue of the hero England cannot honour too highly.

Of no great man's life need we speak with so slight qualification. Von Ranke styles our Alfred "one of the greatest figures in the world's story". Freeman extols him as "the most perfect character in history. He is a singular instance of a prince who has become a hero of romance, who, as a hero of romance, has had countless imaginary exploits and imaginary institutions attributed to him, but to whose character romance has done no more than justice, and who appears in exactly the same light in history and in fable. No other ruler on record has ever so thoroughly united the virtues both of the ruler and the private man. In no other man on record were so many virtues disfigured with so little alloy. A saint without superstition, a scholar without ostentation, a warrior all whose wars were fought in defence of his country, a conqueror whose laurels were never stained

ALFRED THE GREAT

Statue by Hamo Thorneycroft, R.A., at Winchester, Alfred's Royal City

by cruelty, a prince never cast down by adversity, never lifted up to insolence in the hour of triumph; there is no other name in history to compare to his." J. R. Green adds: "Alfred was the noblest, as he was the most complete embodiment, of all that is great, all that is lovable in the English temper. He combined as no other man has ever combined its practical energy, its patient and enduring force, its profound sense of duty, the reserve and self-control that steadies in it a wide outlook and a restless sense of daring, its temperance and fairness, its frank geniality, its sensitiveness to affection, its poetic tenderness, its deep and passionate religion." And in the memorial volume compiled to mark the thousandth anniversary of our great king's passing, Mr. Frederic Harrison thus sums up his record:—

> It is true that the field of Alfred's achievements was relatively small, and the whole scale of his career was modest indeed when compared with that of his imperial compeers. He inherited a kingdom which covered only a few English counties, and at one time his realm was reduced to a smaller area than that of some private landlords of modern times. Beside the great Emperor Charles, or the German Ottos, Henrys, and Fredericks of the Middle Ages, his dominions, his resources, his armies, his battles, his fleets, his administrative machinery, his contemporary glory—all these were almost in miniature—hardly a tithe of theirs. But, we should remember, it is quality not quantity that weighs in the impartial scales of History. True human greatness needs no vast territories as its stage—nor do multitudes add to its power. That which tells in the end is the living seed of the creative mind, the heroic example, the sovereign gift of leadership, the undying inspiration of genius and faith.
>
> Turn to the *Chronicle* and to Asser's *Life*, with recent historians and scholars, and mark those miracles of patience, valour, indomitable energy by which the great king rescued from the savage Norsemen the England of our forefathers. Watch him as he returns to the charge after every repulse, rallies his exhausted men, gathers up new armies, plans fresh methods of war, and at last wins for his people prosperity, honour, and peace. The scale of these campaigns was narrow—the armies were small—not indeed weaker than were the Greeks at Thermopylæ and Marathon; but the annals of war have nothing grander than the long record of sagacious heroism by which Alfred saved England for the English.

Of his domestic life we learn little; but can guess how it must have been interrupted. Married before he was of age to Elswyth, the daughter of a northern chief, we know how such a king must have brought up his children. His successor, Edward the Elder, pushed the war into the Danelaw, no longer reinforced by contingents from abroad. His daughter Ethelfled, too, proved herself a chip of the old block: left a widow, this "Lady of Mercia" recovered the part of her husband's territory that had been given up to Guthrum. When Edward died, A.D. 925, he could call himself overlord of England, a title made good by his son Athelstan.

England was not yet indeed done with the Danes. There were revolts, forays, and, in the next century, a fresh invasion in force. But

the ruthless Norsemen were now being touched by the manners and the faith of their victims. It is notable that one of Hastings' sons, made prisoner, had been released by Alfred as his godson, a hint of some such courteous relations as afterwards softened the quarrel between Moslem and Crusader. When Canute made himself master of England he changed the fierceness of his early days for a just and noble rule in which he seemed to take Alfred for his model. Then came another Norman Conquest, through which still stood firm the English spirit fostered by the best of our kings.

CHAPTER III

Rollo and the Normans (A.D. 911–1090)

Still more sorely than England, for want of such a king as Alfred, did the opposite shores suffer from Danish ravages throughout the second half of the ninth century. Charlemagne's dismembered empire, assailed from the south by Saracens preying on sea and land, from the east by wild Huns and other barbarians, was on the west invaded again and again by Viking warriors, all the more hotly when they found themselves beaten off from English shores. Their main rendezvous was the mouths of the Seine and the Loire. At Rouen those hornets made a hive whence they swarmed forth thousands strong to push forward for repeated attacks on Paris, fortified against them by Charles the Bald, whose defence of the country was clogged by the disloyalty of his vassals and the spiritless temper of his people. Through its internal quarrels those robber crews were able to penetrate to the centre of France, working widespread havoc on land as in the dragon ships that carried fire and sword up the estuaries of the west coast from Hamburg to Seville, and even rivalled Saracen piracy in the Mediterranean. Their fitting badge was the black raven, not only a living crest, but a pilot, for, when at a loss in unknown seas, they are said to have set free this ominous bird that its flight might guide them to land.

About the Seine valley some part of the successive raiders came to settle down, as others did in Ireland and in the Danelaw of England without there securing a permanent mastery. The Church, that had too well tamed the martial spirit of Cæsar's doughty foes, was at first a special object of heathen fury. The monks who saw fanes and cloisters ruthlessly destroyed had no good word to say of their spoilers; and from the few Christian records of that time we should not understand how the Norsemen were in some points superior to the Franks, certainly so in rough ideas of law and fellowship. They had a religion of their own, in which Balder the Beautiful figured as well as Thor the Thunderer. It may well be that some of them came to be touched by the resignation and gentleness of pious victims; and wives torn from Christian firesides must have helped to interpret between the hostile faiths. Then some, tired of bloodshed and wandering adventure, would be willing to plant a home on lands richer than their native fields. Of their descendants to-day in our own northern isles it is said that an Orkneyman is a farmer who keeps a boat, and a Shetlander a boatman who has a farm. It was dark winters and sterile soil that had driven the Vikings from their Baltic shores; but they were not

without a turn for agriculture when it could repay labour. The Franks were ready to buy off their attacks by grants of land and of money. Like the Franks, the Danes might quarrel among themselves, and more than once could be hired to withstand fresh foes of their own blood. Such considerations hint how all through this half-century the intruders went on unconsciously cultivating affinities where at first their presence had produced nothing but repulsion. Rooting themselves firmly in the north-west of France, from its richer soil they developed their transplanted vigour into a new stock of national life, round which would twine afresh the tendrils of a civilization they began by tearing down.

This gradual alliance between two races seems to take shape in one commanding figure, that looms out but a shadowy one through the mists of a time when written chronicles were like to go to the winds of ravage. The chief variously known as Rollo, Rou, Ro, or Rolf wears a very mythical halo, and his name was such a common one that the exploits ascribed to it may have been those of other men gathered into one personality. So two or three Hastings are easily confused in this turbid stream of history. Rollo's epithet, the "Ganger" or goer ahead, points to an energetic disposition, if not to a colossal stature that forced him to go on foot when other Danes could find steeds to fit them. The stories or legends about him all focus on a masterful character that clearly left its mark, both by his early prowess and by the enlightened policy that at the end of his life won him the further name of the "Just". That he was stalwart and handsome goes almost without saying for such a hero. The date of his birth is uncertain; and one account gives him forty years of obscure activity before he comes into historical light.

In Norway itself, about the middle of the ninth century, flourished a local Alfred or Charlemagne, Harold Haarfager ("Fair Hair"), who did much to bring its petty yarldoms to order under his sway, and make his shock of yellow hair the oriflamme of the land. His masterfulness would not commend itself to all the self-willed Vikings, making many of them the more ready to seek fortune abroad. Rollo in his youth appears to have been one of those who fell foul of Harold's government, then, getting the worst of the contest, he followed other exiles to their lodgment in the Hebrides. There, unchronicled exploits having already given him prestige, he became chief of a fleet that is said to have had for its first aim a counter revolution in Norway. It is also said to have steered for England, but to have found this coast too strongly guarded by Alfred, with whom the leader had a legendary interview. Another legend makes him directed by a vision to the Seine, on which Rollo's force found a line of less resistance.

According to the story, his first steps here showed how he might have profited by Alfred's counsels. The terrified people of Rouen sent out their archbishop to placate such too familiar assailants; and for once the chief, perhaps won by this churchman's courage, promised to do them no harm on condition of being freely admitted into their

half-ruined city. He loyally kept the treaty, and seems to have so far gained the goodwill of the citizens that some of them even followed him on excursions he made from Rouen, which he took as the base of operations by which he was perhaps already designing to carve out a settled dominion in the broken land.

About this time died Charles the Bald (A.D. 877), after so long struggling in vain to defend his country against enemies from within and without. He was succeeded, not without question and restriction, by his son Louis the Stammerer, who got the further byname of *le Fainéant*, the "do-nothing"; but indeed he had no chance of doing much, for he died two years later. There was a scramble for the crown; but most of the Franks recognized the late king's young sons, Louis and Carloman, as joint sovereigns. For once those two brothers lived in brotherly concord, but they died successively in the course of a few years. The emperor, Charles the Fat, who was one of the claimants for their throne, died A.D. 888, and with him the Carolingian line seemed to end. While the empire itself became torn between rival princes, in France a bold soldier, Count Odo or Eudos Capet, won title to kingship by his prowess against the Norsemen. But his domination was ill borne by fellow nobles who conspired to set up against him a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, hitherto overlooked and grown up partly as an exile in England. Brought back to France, this boy, Charles the Simple, was proclaimed as lawful heir; but only on the death of Odo, at the end of the century, did he become king in fact. In the battles of Odo, and more than one siege of Paris, Rollo's part appears not conspicuous. There may have been more than one Rollo in the field at this time; and Siegfried is the name of a chief mentioned as leading to Paris an army whose numbers were probably exaggerated to 40,000 men.

Those short and disturbed reigns of course left the land more open to Danish ravage; and Charles the Simple when he came to his sceptre found it but a broken reed. He had been fain to seek alliance with the Norsemen against Odo; and they meanwhile had effectually occupied the country which, after a new form of their name, came to be called Normandy. In such hosts did they gather that adventurers and outlaws of various birth and creed may be supposed to have made Rouen a Cave of Adullam. Hence leaders like Rollo were able to push their marches far and wide, if sometimes baffled by the walls of cities that could foil a dashing attack. In one of these raids Rollo captured Bayeux, among its spoil carrying away the Count's daughter, known in history only by the fond name of Popa, the Puppet. By her he was taken prisoner of love; and their happy marriage must have gone to soften the stern temper of a chief who, as he advanced in years and wisdom, may have been weary of war, while the gains of pillage turned him from destruction to a more conserving mood. So much we can guess from what followed; but the vague and confused chronicles now leave his life a blank for some dozen years.

Poor King Charles, not so simple as his byname bespeaks him,

may well for his part have grown tired of the ceaseless cry of his people, when, as Bulwer Lytton describes in a spirited ballad—

From Blois to Senlis, wave by wave, rolled on the Norman flood,
And Frank on Frank went drifting down the welter-tide of blood;
There was not left in all the land a castle-wall to fire,
And not a wife but wailed a lord, a child but mourned a sire.
To Charles the king, the mitred monks, the mailèd barons flew,
While, shaking earth, behind them strode the thunder march of Rou.

"O King," then cried those barons bold, "in vain are mace and mail,
We fall before the Norman axe, as corn before the hail."
"And vainly," cried the pious monks, "by Mary's shrine we kneel,
For prayers, like arrows, glance aside, against the Norman steel."
The barons groaned, the shavelings wept, while near and nearer drew,
As death-birds round their scented feast, the raven flags of Rou.

With or without a title this terrible marauder had been for years practically ruler at Rouen, whence his devastating excursions carried him right across France. Not that he was always victorious: at Chartres, A.D. 911, the Danes fled from a field on which they are said to have left nearly 7000 corpses. Allowing for exaggeration, such figures show the strength to which the intruders must have swollen; and their attacks continued to be so formidable that soon after the battle of Chartres the king appeared fain to buy peace at any price.

A truce having been made, and terms proposed, the two leaders met at St. Claire on the Epte for their celebrated treaty, or agreement, the exact conditions of which would afterwards be matter of controversy. Rollo, becoming a Christian, was to marry the king's daughter, Gisella, and as her dowry to receive a territory as feudal dominion under the crown. Charles would have fobbed off on him Flanders, where Rollo had no mind to undertake a fresh conquest, but stuck out for what he had already won, the greater part of Normandy, to which was added Brittany if he cared to aggrandize his dominion on that side. How far the illiterate chief understood himself to be entering into feudal obligations might be reasonably disputed by his successors. He could not have had much respect for his royal superior, if the story be true that on being called upon to kiss the king's foot in customary sign of homage he caught it up so roughly as to tilt Charles over on his back.

At all events Rollo was in some form invested with legitimate lordship over a country of which he had long been master. Now an old man, he was baptized under the name of Robert, and married to Gisella, his previous union with the Popa being neglected as unblessed by the Church. This marriage was indeed one *de convenance*; Popa, the mother of his children, appears all along to have kept his heart, while of Gisella we hear little more than her death not long afterwards, and some hint that there was no love lost between the elderly bridegroom and his official wife. He may now be styled

Duke of Normandy, while his chiefs soon copied his example in taking the title of Count along with other marks of conformity to French customs. In the union thus consummated between Scandinavian vigour and Gaulish vivacity, as Freeman has it, if the strangers kept their native spirit, many of them proved ready to accept the faith, language, and more civilized customs of the conquered.

The stories, or legends, of Rollo's later days are emphatic as to the beneficent aims of his rule, though there is a suspicion that he reverted from his Christianity, such as it may have been. Whether or no he paid hearty homage to the king, he appears to have done his duty to the people that under his family blended into one. Dividing Normandy among the chiefs that followed his fortunes, he exerted himself to heal the wounds by which they had so long drained the country. Part of the land and its produce was devoted to restoring the towns and the churches overthrown in heathen onslaughts. Rollo's liberality to his new creed may have earned him the good word of its priestly scribes; but the tradition cannot be all untrue that makes him a model ruler for his time. He established courts of justice, and kept the much-plundered land in so good order that of him is told such an oft-told tale—most familiar to us in Moore's "Rich and rare were the gems she wore"—that he could leave a rich bracelet hanging to a tree and find it untouched after years. The conversion of this strong pagan was specially attested by a regard for the protection of the weak. One of his institutions, that came to figure in our own legal forms, was the *clameur de Haro*, an appeal to his dreaded name, *Ha! Ro!* by which anyone suffering injury or trespass could call all within hearing to his aid, and with this hue and cry the wrongdoer might be followed up to punishment.

Rollo's bent towards civilization may have preceded his formal conversion, for he brought up his son as a French noble rather than a Danish rover; and the boy, William Long-sword, in spite of his name, showed such a turn for letters that he desired to enter a monastery. But this heir was called to what may have been the uncongenial task of ruling, when in his last years Rollo retired into private life, perhaps haunted, as was told, by memories of the slaughter and havoc he had worked in unregenerate days, for which he might well seek to make his peace with heaven by gifts to his adopted Church. There is also some reason to understand that, for all his legendary renown as the "Just", he was set aside, perhaps as doting, by the peers who here gave the outline of a parliament. The end of his life is lost in shadow; but he must have reached a great age when, about A.D. 930, he was buried in the tomb still to be seen at Rouen.

At his death the amalgamation between the two strains of population had grown by no means complete. William Long-sword, who took after his mother's kin, was so far Frenchified as to excite a rebellion among his Danish subjects, still clinging to their old antipathies and superstitions, while also he had to face the hostility of Breton patriots given over to Norman rule. But he proved himself man

enough to stand out against these movements of recalcitrancy, and continued his father's civilizing policy till he met an obscure death, apparently by murder. All this history is so clouded by doubts that some of its romantic incidents are very lightly treated by critical writers like Freeman. His school brings into relief the fact that besides other claimants there were really two kings of France at this period, by whose rivalry the Norman duchy profited. The Carolingian prince, still of Teuton blood and Frankish speech, with his capital now at Laon, was opposed by the Capets with their headquarters at Paris, the defence of which against the Danes had brought the family into renown. Rollo had taken the side of Charles the Simple, who about the same time as himself died a prisoner to one of his treacherous vassals. William seems to have been more wavering in his policy; but after him the Norman sword was thrown into the scale against Charlemagne's heirs.

William was succeeded by his young son, Richard, afterwards known as the Fearless. Louis, king of France, thought to take advantage of the boy's helplessness for resuming his full sway over Normandy, and, claiming Richard as his ward, carried him off a prisoner to the castle of Laon. But here he found a friend who helped him to escape, welcomed back to Normandy by his kinsmen and chief counts, who, for all their internal grudges, were of one mind in maintaining the duchy's independence against that intriguing suzerain. Richard grew up in a long struggle with Louis, whose other enemy, Hugh Capet, the great Count of Paris, did not indeed affect the title of king, but acted like the old mayors of the palace. Louis at one time established himself in Rouen; but the Normans shook him off by fomenting his quarrel with Hugh Capet. Then they found a champion in Harold Bluetooth, king of Denmark, who landed an army near the Cape de la Hague, by which Louis was defeated and taken prisoner. Though he regained his liberty, he had to give up all pretensions to mastership of Normandy, that now turned to Hugh Capet as the virtual overlord of France, with whom Richard allied himself as son-in-law.

The Paris Count's power waned as King Louis's waxed again, but throughout all commotions Duke Richard held his own, dying A.D. 996 after a long and strong reign that went to consolidate his duchy. Whatever allegiance it owed was transferred before his death, when, A.D. 987, the last Carlovingian prince was set aside for a Hugh Capet, son of that Count of Paris whose family had played so great a part for a century. More than one of them had already borne the title or authority of king; but this Hugh, then elected by acclamation, counts as first of a long dynasty with which was founded modern France, though for a time his house might be more justly styled kings of Paris.

To Richard the Fearless, in Normandy, A.D. 966, succeeded Richard the Good, a sobriquet he would not get from the peasants whose revolt he put down with cruel severities. Such a rising points to the growth of the new feudal order, with its donjon keeps and oppressive barons.

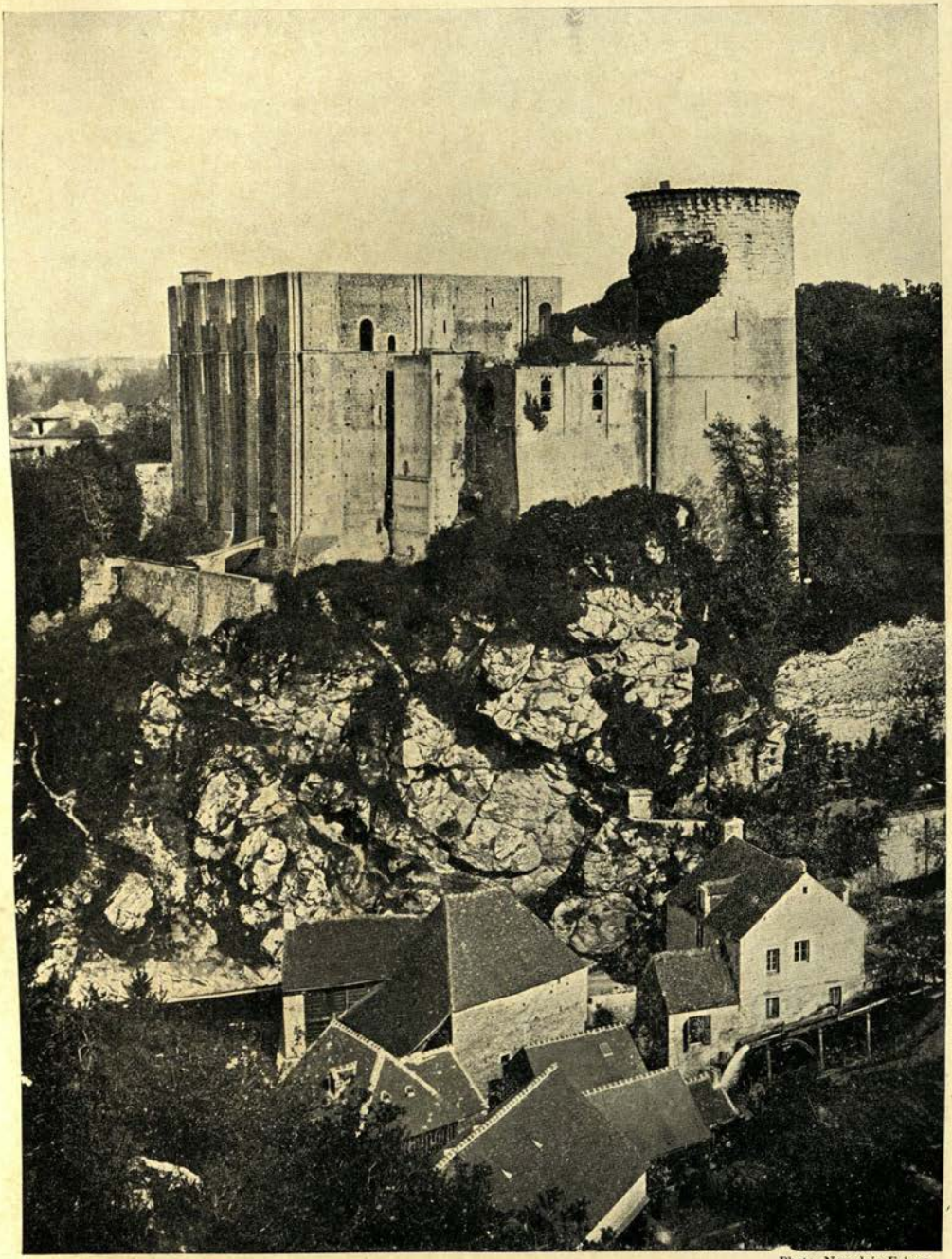


Photo. Neurdein Frères

FALAISE CASTLE, NORMANDY

The castle was formerly the seat of the Dukes of Normandy, and was the birthplace of William the Conqueror. It is situated on a rocky platform, at the top of a steep cliff or *falaise*, and overlooks the modern town. The original mass dates from the 11th century, but the lofty round tower ("Talbot's Tower") was added during the occupation of the castle by the English in the 15th century. The castle was captured by Henry V in 1417 after a siege of forty-seven days, and was not retaken by the French until 1450.

This Richard took high place among neighbouring princes, and gave asylum to his kinsman by marriage, Ethelred of England, when driven into exile by Sweyn. He died A.D. 1026, leaving the power of Normandy consolidated by a succession of able rulers. His son, Richard III, ruled only for a year or two. There were suspicions that he met foul play at the hands of his brother Robert, known as Robert the Devil, but also as the Magnificent, with such costly state did he bear himself as unquestioned lord of a heritage increased by his predecessors. But he failed in an attempt to back the exiled English princes against Canute; then, perhaps moved by remorse for early crimes, he ended his days in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, A.D. 1035.

He left as appointed heir the bastard son William who was to be the greatest of the line. Steeled by hard struggles with rebellious nobles, and with the French king, this duke aimed at succeeding his cousin Edward as king of England, when he had torn Maine from Anjou on the one side of his duchy, and quieted another hostile neighbour by marrying the Count of Flanders's daughter. At the English court, Norman knights and priests already showed a supercilious pride like that with which the Frankish counts had tried to look down on rude Viking pirates for whom less than two centuries did so much. We know how William made good his great ambition, A.D. 1066, and how his line drew the conquered land into their quarrel with France, in whose side Normandy had grown to power and culture.

By this time the masterful Vikings were scattered to all corners of Europe. The same discontent as drove Rollo to piracy sent a band of Norwegian chiefs to found, on the almost virgin soil of Iceland, the one great Norse colony that has not been absorbed among a conquered people. Thence they pushed fresh ventures into Greenland, then a less ungenial clime than now; and from that Ultima Thule one Leif, son of Eric, appears to have anticipated Columbus by five centuries in sailing across an icy sea to the coast of America; but how he fared among its red-skinned natives is unknown, and no certain memorial remains of his discovery. The conquest of England urged Saxons and Danes, united in common exile, to seek fortune as far off as Constantinople, where they recruited the emperor's Varangian bodyguard, formed of Norse warriors who had found their way to the Bosphorus through Russia, there also planting settlements. And while William the Conqueror was still a child his pushing countrymen began to lodge themselves as firmly in Italy as he would do in England. With less success they had made attempts on Spain. These Norman chiefs, so readily converted, feudalized, and taught to speak French, followed the example of Christendom in feuds among themselves and in quarrel with their lords, so their new home engendered struggles and losses that again sent some of them forth in search of further fortune.

The Normans were already well known in Italy as pirates, and as mercenaries to be hired by its contending states, when a band of

them got from the Duke of Naples a town to hold in his territory. Where the Normans got an inch they were apt to take an ell, and so it proved here before long. A certain Tancred de Hauteville had under Richard the Good grown rich chiefly in a dozen of bold sons, who, as in our own day, were fain to provide for themselves by emigration. Three of them turned up in the Italian settlements, where they successively became heads of a sort of republic with its headquarters at Amalfi, a growing power looked on askance by neighbouring potentates, especially by the Byzantine emperor, who still loosely held the southern end of Italy. There they were joined by their half-brother, Robert Guiscard, "the Wise", who did not get on over well with his three seniors, but fought and schemed so effectually as to promote himself to the title of Duke of Apulia. The youngest brother, Roger, conquered Sicily for his share of the family achievements; so a single generation saw the sons of Tancred in a fair way to emulate Rollo at the southern end of Italy.

Since Scandinavia will hardly again figure in this volume, one glance may here be given to the future of so fertile a nursery for such thriving grafts on a higher civilization. Imbued by the faith and the culture that could not stand against them in arms, these Viking bands presently coalesced into the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, among which Denmark at first took a lead as being best populated and closest in touch with the rest of Europe. From their stormy annals emerge such names as Canute, Sweyn, Magnus, Waldemar, and Haakon, whose foreign relations were chiefly confined to the British Isles and the Baltic shores, while much of their energy came to be henceforth spent in neighbourly quarrel. More than once a union was attempted between them, and could be carried out for a time by the Danish Queen Margaret, "Semiramis of the North", who at the end of the fourteenth century succeeded in joining all three kingdoms under one crown. Sweden soon broke away from this union, that held for centuries between Norway and Denmark, not without friction. But, whether united or independent, henceforth the Baltic powers long stood somewhat apart from the main course of European history.

CHAPTER IV

Hildebrand (A.D. 1020–1085)

For a century the imperial crown was tossed about on waves of half-barbarian war that threatened again to submerge Europe. It was sometimes held by Teutonic princes, sometimes by Italians, who for a time snatched power in the discordant independence of the south. At Rome there were efforts to revive the authority of the old republic, when its titles still served to deck some masterful lord in whose hands the Pope might be a puppet. Neither Empire nor Papacy could command the storms through which the young western nations were struggling for life.

The feudal system was now fixing itself on these nations. The conquerors who overran the west had about them a band of adventurous lieutenants and henchmen, whom they rewarded by granting fiefs of subdued territory to be held on condition of rendering military service to the chief recognized as their superior. This made an intricate bond of union, as in the process of division and redivision a feudal lord might owe homage and service to more than one suzerain, might even be supreme in one part of his domain by right of personal conquest, and vassal in another, as the Norman kings of England were to the throne of France. The ties of loyalty were always apt to be strained by ambition, taking advantage of a king's or a neighbour's weakness; while also a strong potentate's dominion might be enhanced by independent lords putting themselves under his protection.

The elaboration of armour went to make fighting a chivalric trade, which, with hunting, seemed the only occupation fit for men of fortunate birth, unless when milder tastes or bodily weakness turned them to the service of the Church. Though slavery had gradually died out in Europe, the mass of the people became serfs little better than slaves, working or fighting at the will of their lord, who in his turn served more or less dutifully some king or prince. Knights and their well-armed followers were like wolves among the common herd, to whom the frequent quarrels between their masters brought home that classic saying, *Quicquid delirant reges plectunctur Achivi*, and who were liable to be helplessly oppressed by a noble caring for no rights but his own. A good king might try to protect the poor; but often it was all he could do to make head against his presumptuous vassals, if not against foreign war. The Church should have been champion of the oppressed, and was so by fitful efforts, such as went to mitigate the misery and destruction of chronic slaughter: it proclaimed

the "Truce of God", bidding private feuds lie still on the days of the Passion, from Thursday to Monday, or in Lent and other seasons kept holy. But the Church was too much corrupted by the world, when, in the scramble for power, bishoprics and abbacies became feudal lordships, and prelates would lead their vassals to war, armed indeed with a mace instead of a sword, so as to satisfy a scruple about shedding blood. Justice, too, was blinded, when a knight accused of crime could challenge the accuser to prove his charge by arms; while the clergy blessed other ordeals in which fraud must have been sometimes the effectual means of clearing guilty and innocent alike. Life in the Middle Ages had a very seamy side, not displayed in the brocaded patterns of romance.

Germany was in a specially disturbed state, where for long a king had to be chosen from among rival dukes and other potentates on whose goodwill his authority depended. The map of this realm to our own time was broken up by the quasi-independent territories of variously titled princes, among whom seven, lay and spiritual, came to be recognized as Electors, *Kurfürsts*, in whose hands lay the orderly choice of an Emperor. In the tenth century there was sometimes no emperor to keep the princes under, who might be fighting to settle which of them should be supreme. In such anarchy the mountain *walds* and the banks of the Rhine became dotted with strong castles, many of them dens of robbers, from which lawless lords sallied out to plunder, or forced peaceable travellers to pay toll for right of passage, like an African chief down to our own day. The king or emperor could do little to hold these robbers in check, while the eastern frontier was menaced by savage Wends, and by an eastern people called Ugrians, from whom rather than from Attila's Huns comes the name of Hungary. They are the modern Magyars, still the predominant race in this country; but in medieval times they were best known as the Huns, inheriting the name as well as the ill-fame of that older breed of Asiatic plunderers, now that the Germans were fain to buy off their raids as Alfred paid tribute to the Danes. But Germany took a new stand when the dying Conrad of Franconia was magnanimous enough to recommend for this crown his rival the Saxon Duke, "Henry the Fowler" (A.D. 918). Henry defied the Huns, beat them in a great fight at Merseburg, and fortified the frontier against them by building not only castles but walled cities, while he enlisted in his service many of the turbulent knights, whom he bound to such laws of honour and religion as evince a new spirit of dutiful chivalry. Under his son Otto the Huns again broke into the empire, for the last time in force, when myriads of them were slain or drowned in a battle before Augsburg (A.D. 955).

All through this welter of misrule men still kept some vague idea of Church and Empire as the soul and body of Christendom, as head of which a German prince seemed qualified by some strain of Charlemagne's blood. Otto I was the king who could be called a tenth-century Charlemagne. In his time the title of emperor had lain in

abeyance, while that of Lombard king was in dispute between rival princes in Italy. One of these, Berenger, thought to make his kingdom sure by marrying his son to the other's unwilling widow, Adelaide, whom he imprisoned in quite romantic style; but she found means of appealing to Otto. He grasped this opportunity of interfering in the distractions of Italy, crossed the Alps with an army, married Adelaide himself (A.D. 951), and added the kingdom of the Lombards to his own German dominion. Twelve years later (A.D. 962) Pope John XII invited him back to free Rome from the tyranny of the local nobles that then dominated it. Otto marched to Rome and had himself crowned emperor by the Pope, who soon found how his ally meant that title to be no empty one. John, a foolish and immoral young man, was presently intriguing against his new patron with Berenger, even with the savage Huns this prince had brought into Italy. Otto took on himself to hold at Rome a council which deposed the Pope on account of his scandalous life, electing another with the emperor's consent. The fickle Romans presently began to regret their change of master; they broke out into a riot, quelled with great slaughter; and as soon as Otto was gone they were for restoring Pope John. Otto returned sternly to suppress their repeated mutiny. He put an end to the consuls and tribunes that still made heads for turbulent independence, giving the government of Rome to the Pope as his deputy, who was not to be elected without his consent; and the next Pope he was asked to nominate. Henceforth the German kings were looked on as having a right to the title of emperor, which, however, they might not assume till they had been crowned by the Pope at Rome, their nominal capital, where they had always a difficulty in bringing their distant power to bear. And whether the power of the Empire or the Popedom should be the higher would make a question that long disturbed Europe.

The Popedom had now sunk to its lowest depth of degradation. It was bought and fought for through a succession of brief holders, whom the Catholic historian, Dr. Barry, sums up in this sentence: "'Come like shadows, so depart', is the summons at which these spectres, often dabbled in blood, pass over the stage in a lugubrious masque of anarchy". Such shadowy Popes had been repeatedly deposed, imprisoned, or murdered, sometimes deserving no better fate. Pope Joan is taken to be a fable; but the chair of St. Peter was once filled by a boy, and more than once by a dissolute youth. We may suppose what power so unfit successors of Gregory the Great had over the distractions of the Church. The Pope was unheeded or defied by prelates who had often bought their sees or been invested in them by lay authority. Rome set such a copy of morals as later on suggested Boccaccio's story of the Jew converted by a visit to this city, on consideration that a religion must be divine which could live through so evil communications. The country around it then swarmed with lordly robbers and common bandits, plundering the pilgrims, who at one time found a visit here more perilous than passing through Moslem lands to Jerusalem.

The true capital of Christendom then seems the Burgundian monastery of Cluny, founded A.D. 910, soon to multiply itself in an earnest revival of the Benedictine rule, decayed into the same corruption as the Church's dignities. "Monasteries, like bishoprics, fell into the hands of lay lords, their concubines, children, and retainers. Soldiers clank about their courtyards; hunting dogs give tongue in sacred solitudes. Monks and nuns break their vows; infants receive the Abbot's crook; lands are alienated, buildings fall to ruin; learning, of course, is neglected. Not universally, for exceptions might be found in the worst of times; but monastic wealth was tempting, and the feudal convert scarcely more than half a Christian. Between him and the Norman pirate, how little was there to choose?" As in the days of St. Gregory, earnest and gentle spirits took despairing refuge in purified cloisters like that of Cluny.

To this centre of reformation had gravitated an Italian monk named Hildebrand, a puny, sickly man, apparently of humble origin, but of a spirit that destined him to be the "Julius Cæsar of the Papacy". Otto the Great, then his son and his grandson, had appointed German Popes; now again the see was disputed by Italian intrigues. In A.D. 1046 there were three rival Popes enthroned in different quarters of the holy city, one of whom, Gregory VI, had actually bought the Chair from an unworthy predecessor, who was presently restored under the ægis of Tusculan nobles. Henry III, distinguished by his efforts to reform the German Church, was appealed to. He came to Italy, to hold an inquest which resulted in the deposition of all three pretenders, and his arbitrary appointment of a pious German bishop, at whose hands he was crowned emperor in St. Peter's on Christmas Day, A.D. 1046. After putting down rebellious Lombards, and making terms with the Normans who were now seizing upon the Eastern empire's last possessions in South Italy, he recrossed the Alps. He took with him Gregory, the most respectable of the three deposed Popes, confessing his sin of simony and showing a disposition for reform. With Gregory as chaplain went Hildebrand, who on the death of this patron entered the monastery of Cluny, not for the first time according to some accounts.

Two Popes of Henry's choice having died in rapid succession, he was asked to name another, and did so in the person of his kinsman Bruno, an able and virtuous bishop, who reluctantly consented to accept the Papacy, but only on condition of his appointment being confirmed by free election at Rome. This scruple is believed to have been raised by Hildebrand, who accompanied him to Rome, not less unwilling to leave the quiet life of the cloister. The designated Pope travelled as a humble pilgrim, to enter the city barefoot, received with acclamations that removed his doubts, and in A.D. 1049 he was consecrated as Leo IX. Beside him remained Hildebrand, henceforth the right hand of six Popes, succeeding one another through a troubled quarter of a century.

As soon as Leo was settled in Rome he set about the much-needed

reformation of the Church, denouncing simony, feudal investiture of benefices, worldliness in the clergy, and their marriage, a subject that had to be handled delicately, as most of the priests even in Italy were married, and those beyond the Alps were still more opposed to the rule of celibacy, as yet only a counsel of perfection for the secular priesthood, though often pressed as an obligation by zealous Popes. This Pope exerted himself to make his authority an international power by travelling to hold councils at Pavia, Cologne, Rheims, and Maintz, where he took a high tone as spiritual sovereign; and in his hands the weapon of excommunication brought both clergy and laity to their knees. The rebellious Duke Godfrey of Lorraine was forced not only to rebuild, working at it with his own hands, the church of Verdun, which he had burned, but to submit to a scourging at its desecrated altar. Edward, king of England, seeking to be absolved from his vow of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, was enjoined to build the Abbey of Westminster as atonement. Heretics were brought to judgment and presumptuous prelates rebuked, notably the rival Patriarch of Constantinople who from time to time renewed his claim to precedence over the Church of Rome. Such was the strict Pontiff under whom Hildebrand served his apprenticeship to ecclesiastical affairs, both of them in the position of austere masters over a school of most unruly boys.

But the Pope found himself not equally potent when he tried the arm of the flesh against Norman freebooters who were overrunning southern Italy, without more regard for the estates of the Church than for towns still held there by the Eastern emperor. Leo raised a feeble army, with which he marched to Apulia to see it broken by the Normans, into whose hands he fell prisoner. Yet those fierce encroachers were so far good Christians that they treated their illustrious captive with respect, begging on their knees to be released from his sentence of excommunication. For the best part of a year he remained in honourable durance at Benevento; then, falling ill, was allowed to return to Rome, and there died, A.D. 1054.

At this time Hildebrand was away on a heresy-quelling mission in France, whence he hurried back to Rome for the election of the new Pontiff. It seems that he might now have been chosen, but preferred to keep himself in the background. His policy was to seek support from an emperor who had shown himself a good friend to the Holy See, that stood in danger of falling back under the domination of a prince closer at hand, when Godfrey of Lorraine, uncured by his scourging of a turn for turbulent adventure, married Beatrice, widow of the Marquis of Tuscany, under whose predecessors the Popedom had been shamefully degraded. Hildebrand headed a deputation to the emperor, begging him to appoint a certain German bishop, as was done. Henry followed his nominee to Italy, with the view of keeping Godfrey and other troublesome vassals in order; but he was recalled to Germany by news of treason, and soon afterwards (A.D. 1056) died in the prime of life. The Pope was with him at the time, who consecrated his

young son king of Germany, destined to wait many a year before being crowned emperor at Rome.

Henry IV came to the throne as a boy of six, and in his minority the kingdom, consolidated by his father's strong and wise rule, threatened again to go to pieces. The gentle empress Agnes had been appointed regent; but the boy king was presently carried off by Anno, ambitious archbishop of Cologne; and in the hands of three rival archbishops he spent his youth, treated harshly and indulgently by turns, to grow up no such good king as his father, while the great vassals learned once more to make light of the crown. In Italy, power was divided between Godfrey in Tuscany and Lombardy, and the growing strength of the Normans in the south, on whom the Pope had to lean by turns. Pope Victor II died soon after his patron, the emperor; and, Hildebrand being again out of the way, the clergy and people elected Godfrey's brother, who became Pope as Stephen IX. He also soon died, after sending Hildebrand to seek confirmation of his election in Germany; then some of the nobles put Benedict X into the Papal Chair, under protest from the leading cardinals, who, on Hildebrand's return to Italy, joined him and Duke Godfrey in setting up Nicholas II as Pope of the reforming party. Benedict fled, and afterwards humbly repented his usurpation before a council of bishops summoned at Rome.

The policy of the Holy See now underwent a change, apparently directed by Hildebrand, who in the disorders of Germany saw how it could not be depended on for support. A decree was passed that henceforth Popes should be elected by the cardinals, if possible at Rome; yet the emperor's right of confirmation was vaguely recognized. While thus loosening the ties of dependence on the empire, Rome sought to make friends with the victorious Normans, who were released from excommunication, and had their conquests recognized as fiefs of the Papacy. At the same time Hildebrand and his ally, Peter of Damiani, made successful efforts to secure support in Lombardy by bringing back that region out of heterodoxies and irregularities into which it had fallen.

But too soon appeared how little the Church was at one. When next year Nicholas II died, the cardinals chose Alexander II as Pope, who came to Rome with a guard of Normans. A party of discontented nobles appealed to the boy king Henry, as Patrician of Rome, to annul this election; and at Basel was set up an anti-Pope, Honorius II. The soldiers of the rival pontiffs fell to fighting in Rome, where they held themselves against each other till Godfrey came with a strong force as arbiter, bidding them retire, each to his bishopric, till their claims had been decided upon in Germany. There Archbishop Anno had gained ascendancy for a time, and he took the part of Alexander, who was generally recognized, Honorius disappearing into obscurity. Now unopposed, Alexander held the See for twelve stormy years, during which Hildebrand, under the modest title of Archdeacon, was so clearly the man at the helm that on the Pope's death, A.D. 1073,

(45)

GREGORY VII

From the painting by Raffaello dal Colle in the Sala di Costantino, Vatican, Rome

he found himself called by acclamation at Rome to succeed as Gregory VII. It is said that he tried to refuse, with tears, but could not resist the fate that made him head of the distracted Christian world.

Never did man embark on a voyage so seemingly desperate as that to which Gregory VII was now committed, body and soul. What did he propose? To reform the Church, cleanse and renew the corrupt Hierarchy, set it free from its bondage to kings and nobles, and in doing so, to abase the Empire which until of late had been his stay. Such a policy, straight as an arrow to his own apprehension, appeared crooked, subtle, and devilish in the eyes of many, and those not always depraved. Against him stood up, rank after rank, the thousands of clergy who would rather forgo their livings than their wives. On the Bishops gorged with plunder and open law breakers, he might count for a determined opposition. Nor did the people, who, like himself, were little better than born serfs, rise to that view of Church or Papacy, pure in its angelic brightness, with its gleaming sword unsheathed to smite even royal vice, which, as his letters testify, was habitual with him. "To forsake righteousness", he said, "is to make shipwreck of the soul"; and with Æschylean energy: "All the attempts of mortals are but straw stubble against the rights of St. Peter and the power of the Most High".

His Bible he knew by heart. In all his epistles it overflows, as in St. Bernard's sermons and correspondence; it shapes his thoughts, enforces his argument; no Puritan lived more habitually in the atmosphere of Psalms, Prophets, Old Testament Theocracy. He did not pretend to be a scholar; but the "rustic style" in which he gloried is a tesselation of Scripture phrases; he wrote and spoke as a Prophet to the degenerate House of David. His favourite word—it was the last he uttered—is "righteousness". . . .

His raptures, fasts, vigils, scourgings, while they bore witness to the man's sincerity, disclosed an ascetic, unworldly type of the Christian life, in which thousands believed perfection to consist, while none could less resemble the ways of the beneficed priest or his patron and tyrant the military Prince-Bishop. Could celibacy, instead of being the rare exception, become the rule, it would reform the clergy as by a magic stroke. And if laymen, including the Emperor, ceased to traffic in church livings, the scandal of a luxurious, negligent, feudal Hierarchy would come to an end. That this Reign of the Saints might turn, as in other times, to an all-embracing irresistable despotism—to Florence under Savonarola, to Geneva under Calvin, to Presbyterian Scotland or Puritan New England—Gregory did not imagine. He spoke always of the Church's freedom.—Dr. Barry's *Papal Monarchy*.

Some of Henry IV's counsellors were for refusing consent to Hildebrand's election; but the troubles of his own realm kept this king from interfering, and soon he was propitiating the recognized head of the Church with humble professions of submission, ill borne out by his conduct. The people of Saxony had risen against him; and it was not till after two years of vicissitude that the young king could make head against them. Meanwhile Hildebrand seated himself firmly at Rome, rebuking the heterodox Lombards, and demanding loyalty from the turbulent Normans, whose chief, Robert Guiscard, he solemnly excommunicated for ravaging the property of the Holy

See. Nor was he unwilling to use worldly weapons, not so easily commanded by him. This unwarlike monk raised soldiers for the protection of Rome and its states. He had an idea for enlisting the arms of Christendom to aid Constantinople against its imminent peril from the Turks, hoping thus to promote a union of the Eastern and the Western Churches, and perhaps incidentally to crush his Norman neighbours by an army at the Pope's disposal. This prelude to the Crusades was, however, not warmly taken up. The only potentates who came forward in support of the Pope's projects were Duke Godfrey's widow Beatrice, and her daughter Matilda, the Countess of Tuscany, who all along proved herself a faithful supporter of Hildebrand's reforming zeal; but their vassals could not yet be fired to seek adventures as champions of the Church.

The clergy showed as little goodwill to Hildebrand's plans as did the princes whom he called on for their help in his scheme of reformation. When he issued a sweeping excommunication against all married priests, all who had acquired their benefices by simony, and all bishops and abbots invested by the emperor, he had to expect a storm of opposition in Germany and France, where churches, with their profitable toll for saving ordinances, had often come to be looked on as heritable property. Even in Rome flagrant abuses went on under his eyes; and all over Italy priests and nobles were so self-seeking that the poor Pope had almost given way to despair. "Looking east, south, north", he exclaimed, "I see scarcely a bishop lawfully admitted to his office and leading a life befitting his sacred character, nor a secular prince putting God's honour before his own, or righteousness before gain. The people among whom I live, the Romans, Lombards, and Normans, appear, as I often declare, to be in some ways worse than Jews or pagans. Then, looking into my own heart, I find myself so laden with the burden of what I have to do that no hope remains to me but in the mercy of Christ. Did I not trust to reach a better life and to serve the Holy Church, I would not stay in Rome, where, against my will, I call God to witness, I have had to dwell for twenty years."

There were some Romans willing to get rid of this troublesome meddler with custom, leader among them a profligate noble named Cencius, whose family held the Castle of St. Angelo as a nest of sedition. On Christmas Eve (A.D. 1075), as Hildebrand was celebrating midnight mass in a storm of wind and rain, this ruffian burst into the church with a gang of armed men, dragged the Pope from the altar, wounding him and stripping him of his vestments, then hurried him to a tower where he was kept till morning amid insults and threats of death. The intention was to carry him off from Rome; but, on his plight becoming known, the people rose to his rescue, the tower was taken by assault, and, when their prisoner had been triumphantly released, the conspirators saw well to take flight, though forgiven by Hildebrand on condition of performing a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

In such trying circumstances the Pope, weak of body but strong in spirit, entered upon his famous conflict with Henry IV, called on

in vain to stand by his side for the reformation of the Church. The young king was flighty and irresolute, as well as self-willed; living an immoral life, he had more than once used edifying language of repentance, perhaps not altogether feigned, and he had submitted to a former Pope's injunction against divorcing a wife who turned out his best friend. His mother, Agnes, also brought her good influence to bear on him. When Hildebrand was made Pope the king had entered upon putting down the Saxon rebellion, which kept him on his good behaviour to Rome. But it was the old story of the devil's monkhood after he fell sick. As soon as Henry felt himself more firmly set on his throne by the quelling of the Saxons, he grew indifferent to the Pope's demands; and soon insolently defied him by appointing to bishoprics in Germany and Lombardy, while he deposed and imprisoned Saxon bishops on his own authority. The Pope summoned this usurper of his rights to answer for himself at Rome. The king replied by calling a council of German bishops at Worms, which pronounced Gregory's deposition, and was backed by the bishops of Lombardy, incensed against the rebuker of their shortcomings, whom in turn they sought to blacken by absurd charges of sorcery and other strange sins. A messenger was found bold enough to present in the synod at Rome a letter from Henry addressed to "Hildebrand the false monk, no longer Pope", in the king's name calling on him to come down from the chair of St. Peter, as a pretended pastor who was rather a ravening wolf. The bearer of this insulting summons had almost been torn in pieces, but was protected by Hildebrand, who alone in the assembly kept his composure. Next day he solemnly excommunicated Henry, along with all the bishops that supported him (A.D. 1076).

When this anathema reached him at Utrecht, Henry, after bursting into a rage, tried to make light of it, and to answer by a public excommunication of the Pope, which he could get only one bishop to pronounce, under a thunderstorm that struck the Cathedral as a sinister omen. The king himself, not above the superstition of his age, before long saw cause for fearing the spiritual power he had provoked to lay him under that awful ban by which princes and nobles were released from their allegiance to one accursed by Rome. He was not the man to rally national sentiment against the excommunication overshadowing all his dominions. He had never been a popular sovereign, and now his people showed no resolution to stand by him, while his vassals were ready to take Papal authority as absolving them from their allegiance, and the very prelates who had backed him in opposition to reform presently began to steal across the Alps to make their peace with the offended Pope. The Saxon rebellion broke out afresh; other parts of Germany turned against the disannointed king; the councils he convoked were ill attended; and before the end of the year nobles and bishops held a diet, prompted by the Pope and attended by his legates, at which was debated the question of Henry's dethronement. He promised

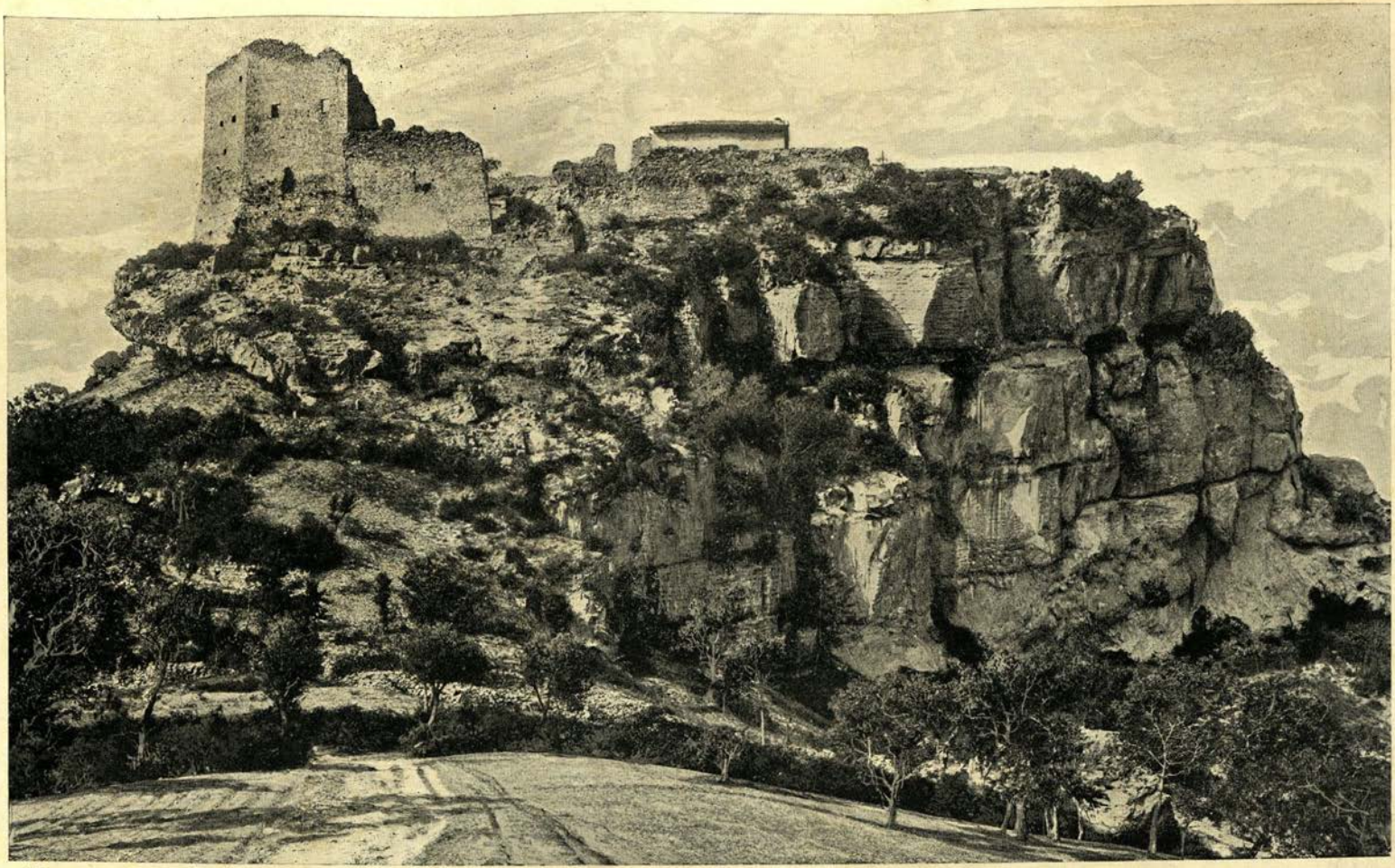
amendment, and was given a year in which to make his submission to the Pope, or else to be deposed. Another diet was to be held at Augsburg, with Hildebrand himself as president; meanwhile the banned king remained in little better state than a prisoner.

From arrogant self-confidence poor Henry had passed into a mood of abject dread. He now offered to come to Rome as a suppliant; but Hildebrand forbade him, preferring to deal signally with this rebel before the lords of his kingdom. With his crown at stake, and his soul, as he might believe in contrite moods, Henry could not bear to wait for absolution. In the depth of a portentously severe winter (A.D. 1076–7) he crossed the Alps with his family, under such difficulties that many of their horses were disabled, and the royal party had to crawl on hands and knees, or, wrapped in hides, to be lowered down the icy slopes. Once in Italy, he was joined by some of the mutinous Lombard nobles, ready to follow him to Rome for some such masterful dealings with the Holy See as had been carried out by his predecessors. But this king came for the nonce as a penitent, not as a conqueror, preceded by some of his German adherents hurrying to proclaim their own repentance.

Hildebrand was already setting out towards the German diet when he heard of the king's arrival in Italy. Suspecting his intentions and the force he had gathered round him, the Pope took refuge with his own devoted ally, the Countess Matilda, in her Apennine stronghold of Canossa. Here, as percursors of their master, he was sought out by German bishops and nobles, praying for absolution, which he bestowed on them after due ordeal of imprisonment, fasting, and penance. And on Henry himself appearing at Canossa it was soon clear that he came not to threaten. But when he knocked at the gate of his spiritual father's abode the Pope refused to see him.

It was on the morning of the 25th of January, 1077, while the frost reigned in all its intensity, and the ground was white with snow, that the dejected Henry, barefooted, and clad in the usual garb of penance, a garment of white linen, ascended alone to the rocky fortress of Canossa, and entered its outer gate. The place was surrounded by three walls, within the two outer of which the imperial penitent was led, while the portals of the third or inner wall of the fortress were still closed against him. Here he stood, a miserable spectacle, exposed to cold and hunger throughout the day, vainly hoping, with each succeeding hour, that Gregory would consider the penance sufficient, and his fault atoned for. The evening, however, came, and he retired, humbled and dispirited, to return to his station with the returning light.

On a second day, and on a third, the unhappy prince was still seen standing, starved and miserable, in the court of Canossa, from the morning until the evening. All in the castle, except the Pope, bewailed his condition, and with tears implored his forgiveness; it was said, even in Gregory's presence, that his conduct was more like wanton tyranny than apostolic severity. But the austere pontiff continued obstinately deaf to all entreaties. At length Henry's patience failed him, and, taking refuge in the adjacent chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, he there besought, with tears, the inter-



RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF CANOSSA

This rocky stronghold stands high in the Apennines, and is famous as the scene of the humiliation of Henry IV by Hildebrand (Gregory VII)

cession of the aged abbot of Cluny; Matilda, who was present, seconded the king's entreaty, but the abbot, turning to her, replied: "It is thou alone who canst undertake this business". And Henry, upon the word, fell upon his knees before his kinswoman, and besought her, in the most impassioned manner, once more to exert her potent intercession. She promised to use her utmost endeavours, and returned into the castle; and Gregory, feeling that he had now sufficiently vindicated his authority, relaxed at length his rigour, suffering the unfortunate king, still barefooted, and in his linen garment, to be brought into his presence, on the fourth day of his penance.

The scene, as the suppliant king approached the pontiff, must have been singularly striking. The youthful and vigorous Henry, of lofty stature and commanding features, thus humbling himself before the small, insignificant, and now probably withered, figure of Gregory VII, must have afforded a striking type of that abasement of physical before moral power,—of the sword before the crosier,—which the great struggle then in progress was fated to accomplish.—Bowden's *History of Gregory VII.*

This famous scene of history is somewhat miscoloured by our martyrologist, Fox, who, under the recent smart of Romish persecution, sees Henry as a "godly emperor", and that *Hell-brand* Pope as nothing but a proud tyrant. Of Henry's godliness the less said the better; while Hildebrand, setting apart the question of clerical celibacy, was contending for principles that would be championed by Luther, Knox, and Milton, as by the noblest spirits of the Catholic Church. The stiffest Protestant may recognize here a triumph of higher over lower motives of human nature, when the carnal man knelt before an authority believed to be of divine origin. A triumph it was for the power now proclaimed at Rome. The king consented to hold his crown at the judgment of the Pope, to whom he promised a safe-conduct to the diet at Augsburg, where he should be tried. With tears he abased himself to this agreement, sworn on holy relics; as they sealed their reconciliation by the mystery of the mass, it is said that Hildebrand broke the sacred wafer in two, swallowing one half with an invocation to God that it might be his death if he were guilty of the crimes charged against him; but, when he offered the other half to Henry for a like test of innocence, the king shrank from such an ordeal.

This apparently hearty reconciliation did not last long. Absolved from the curse that had seemed likely to cost him his crown, the king soon proved himself no truly repentant prodigal son of the Church. At the same time his voluntary humiliation brought him into contempt with the Lombard nobles, who, still hot against the meddlesome Hildebrand, talked of making Henry abdicate in favour of his son Conrad, and marching to Rome to set up another Pope in this child's name. To please their party Henry had to displease Hildebrand. Neither of them, on consideration, showed any readiness to go among the Germans, who seemed inclined to act for themselves. Henry remained at Pavia, trying to gather his Italian supporters. The Pope, when neither escort nor safe-conduct was forthcoming for him, refused

to cross the Alps, but sent legates to the diet, attended by only part of the German princes and nobles, who deposed Henry and gave his crown to Duke Rudolf of Suabia.

At this news Henry returned to Germany, to find the southern half of it, with the important Rhineland cities, still willing to support him. The rival kings gathered their forces, but were slow in coming to battle, while the Pope, called on to arbitrate between them, shilly-shallied in a way to be explained by his own difficulties. That moment of spiritual despotism at Canossa gave him no armed force against the illwishers nearer at hand, while he hesitated to support Rudolf as a king not of his choosing and no more to be trusted for submission than Henry. Not till A.D 1080, when Henry was defeated by Rudolf, did Hildebrand throw his authority into the balance by renewing the excommunication against the former and pronouncing the latter a lawful king; he even went so far as to prophesy death or disaster to Henry before a certain day. But here the Pope overreached himself. His interference was worth to Henry a belated rallying of national sentiment; and no small body of German nobles and bishops joined in retorting the foreign ban by setting up Wibert of Ravenna as an anti-Pope. In another battle Henry was again defeated, but his competitor was killed, leaving the revolting party without a head. So far from coming to the extermination prophesied by the too confident Pope, Henry found himself next year able to invade Italy with a considerable force, increased among his supporters in Lombardy.

To resist him and the anti-Pope, Hildebrand was at a loss for arms of flesh. The Normans had promised aid, which was not forthcoming. The faithful Matilda's vassals were in revolt. He appealed in vain for help to William, whose conquest of England had been blessed by the Holy See. Only the people of Rome stood by him to shut its gates in Henry's face. A long siege, or rather repetition of attacks, was continued for two years, till (A.D. 1083) the invaders managed to master most of the city, while the Pope still held out in the Castle of Sant' Angelo. For a time Henry had to retire to fight the Normans, now active against him; but next year he came back to have his anti-Pope consecrated as Clement III by a synod held in the Lateran: then by him the king was at last crowned emperor in St. Peter's.

From his beleaguered stronghold Hildebrand had to look on helpless at this usurpation of his office, till a tardy champion came to his aid in Robert Guiscard, with such an army as to drive the new-made emperor to retreat, who at once returned to Germany, his presence called for there by his opponents gathering new head. But the Pope, thus delivered, had cause to cry: "Save me from my friends!" The rude Norman soldiery got into quarrel with the Romans; Robert could not or would not restrain his followers; the city, given up to pillage and slaughter, was half-burned, thousands of the people being carried away as captives. Amid the curses of the remainder, Hildebrand followed the Normans out of ruined Rome, which he never saw again.

He retired to the great monastery of Monte Cassino, and presently into what was now the Norman dukedom of Apulia, finally finding refuge at Salerno, a city soon to gain importance as seat of one of the first universities of Europe, famous for its medical school. His ally Robert had other affairs to attend to, having schemed a bold attack upon the Byzantine empire. The anti-Pope was free to come back to Rome, recommended by the resentment of the citizens against the Normans. In vain Hildebrand appealed for help to lukewarm friends. In vain he hurled spiritual thunderbolts at his foes. A year after leaving Rome the heart-broken and weary Pope lay down to die at Salerno (A.D. 1085), among a small retinue of cardinals and monks faithful to his cause throughout all its vicissitudes. His last words were: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile".

Thus Gregory VII seemed to despair of the principles for which he had fought so resolutely. But he had won a victory greater than he knew. He had taught men respect for a power before which kings and courts would presently be fain to kneel; and had that power been always exercised to exalt righteousness and rebuke iniquity, the Popedom might have fulfilled his aspirations for a moral dictatorship of Europe, if not for a kingdom of heaven set up on earth. He left Rome in the hands of the anti-Pope, who for a time held his state there. Not for a year could the cardinals elect as orthodox Pope the aged Abbot of Monte Cassino, whose consecration in St. Peter's had to be fought for by the Countess Matilda's troops. He soon died, and his successor, a French monk taking the title of Urban II, had to retire first into the Norman territory, and then to France. An exile from the Holy City, he strove to carry out Gregory's reformation, and was able to give shape to the great Pope's design of turning the arms of Christendom against the infidel, while his partisans in Italy carried on a local contest with the emperor's authority.

That adversary of Hildebrand survived him over twenty years, dying A.D. 1106 after half a century's broken reign. In the latter part of it he had to struggle with Duke Welf of Bavaria, whose son married Henry's chief Italian enemy, the Countess Matilda: this was the origin of the feud between Guelphs and Ghibellines, names that for three centuries would make war-cries for the patriotic and the German factions in Italy. The emperor's worst foes were in his own household. His second wife turned out his most virulent accuser. First one and then another of his sons rebelled against him, licensed by the Pope to take the place of an excommunicated monarch; and when he died at Liège, the Church denied his body burial in consecrated ground. Thus Hildebrand's curse followed him to his grave. Henceforth, for long, kings and peoples would think twice before braving the censures of Rome; the Pope rather than the Emperor was taken to be master of the clergy; yet it might still be in dispute which of these powers, sun and moon of the medieval world, took its light as reflected from the other.

CHAPTER V

The Crusaders (A.D. 1096–1291)

Gregory VII died just as the Church was developing that spirit of European nationality that gave a standard to chivalric arms by turning them against the Moslems, whose victories, already checked on the Mediterranean, were now to be disputed on Asian ground. The Normans, under their Guiscard chiefs, had firmly established themselves in South Italy, whence they went on to conquer Sicily and to mingle with its Saracen masters in that amalgam of population over which so many lords of different races have held sway in turn. Crete and other islands had also been won back from Islam by the naval power of the Byzantine empire, which kept down Saracen piracy in the Levant. At the western end of the Mediterranean the ancestors of Algerian corsairs got more of their own way, while Spain had long been an arena for stubborn contests that preluded the Wars of the Crusades.

That corner of Europe had suffered less from the Norsemen, plagued rather by the Saracens who at one time almost overran the Peninsula. But the Christians, standing at bay against the Pyrenean mountain chain, with the help of champions like Charles Martel and Charlemagne, were able to turn back those intruders; and the land became divided under petty princes in the North and the Moorish Caliphs in the South, between whom ebbed and flowed the long feud of the Cross and the Crescent.[1] The half-legendary hero of these wars was Roderigo Diaz, styled the Cid, or lord, in admiration of exploits that made him the glory of Spain. Wonderful tales are told of his prowess: how as a mere boy he challenged and slew a nobleman who had insulted his father; how in his youth he overcame several Moorish kings and rescued many cities from Mohammedan lords; how he kept a lion that obeyed him as a dog, and, like Alexander the Great, had a spirited horse which nobody could ride but himself; how he fell into disgrace both with his king and with the Pope, who yet had to forgive so doughty a defender of Church and throne; how in his old age he died when besieged in the city of Valencia, but his followers sallied out with his dead body fastened upright on his good steed Bavieca, and at the very sight the Moors fled in dismay.

Of this warrior little indeed seems historically known; his fame is apparently exaggerated by poets out of a sort of robber chief who fought sometimes against the Moors but sometimes against his own

[1] The Crescent appears to have been originally a symbol of the Byzantine empire, not adopted by its conquerors till later; but it has been freely used in a tempting antithesis.

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PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE

From the painting by James Archer

people. What we know for certain is, that before such champions the Moslem kingdoms went down one by one. Their greatness is shown by the magnificent Alhambra and other Moorish palaces still standing, and by mosques which have sometimes been turned into Christian churches, like the famous one of Cordova. This city in the tenth century made the capital of a Moorish kingdom that was perhaps the most flourishing state in Europe, a model to its neighbours in knowledge and civilization. Not only as builders but as cultivators of the soil, and in arts and crafts, the Moors of the Cid's time were in advance of the Christians, sometimes obliged to employ Moorish architects and artists in the construction of their own churches. The Caliphs of Cordova were the most enlightened of Moslem princes, and, had their state stuck together, it might have spread its power all over the Peninsula. But about A.D. 1000 it began to go to pieces, and during the eleventh century was frittered away among minor rulers, quarreling with one another as well as with their Christian enemies, on their side likewise weakened by their own rivalries.

The Caliphs of Baghdad, also, ruled a humanized state, in which some *modus vivendi* became possible between the Moslem governors of Jerusalem and the Christian pilgrims braving arduous journeys to their holiest shrines. Ever since Constantine and his mother erected a church over what was taken for the site of Christ's Sepulchre, there had resorted to it from all parts of Christendom, as still flows from its most superstitious peoples, a stream of devotees hoping to gain heaven by making a shroud of the shirt in which they entered Jerusalem, by bathing in the Jordan, and by purchasing forged relics and such souvenirs as those in which Jerusalem of to-day drives a brisk trade. Gregory the Great had built there a hostel for the accommodation of pilgrims, who in monasteries or in the homes of the pious found stations of repose and guidance on their long way, beset by perils on land and sea. The dangers of such a pilgrimage had been sometimes greater in passing through the disturbed realms of the Cross than after reaching that sacred soil that seemed profaned by the domination of the Crescent, where yet the Christians might find themselves better treated than were Jews at Rome or London. The Saracens, after their first burst of bloodthirsty intolerance, even showed a disposition to encourage those devout guests. We saw how Haroun Alraschid invited Charlemagne to consider himself as the protector of the Holy Sepulchre. A toll came to be levied on pilgrims, who in other ways brought no small gain to the goal of their faith. Commerce went hand in hand with devotion, and the rising maritime cities of Italy took this channel for a profitable trade with the East.

So the matter had stood up to A.D. 1000, when a prevalent belief that this date would mark the Day of Judgment sent pilgrims to Jerusalem in larger numbers than ever. But now the Caliphate of Baghdad had a decline and fall like that of the Roman Empire. There arose a rival Caliph of Egypt, who in an access of bigotry laid waste the Christian shrines and put a temporary check to the concourse of

pilgrims. Then, like the Goths and Vandals upon southern Europe, from the centre of Asia came a fierce swarm of Seljouk Turks, who overwhelmed both the dominion of Baghdad and what was left to Constantinople in Asia Minor. These barbarians had taken on the faith of Islam with all its early fierceness, and when Jerusalem fell into their hands they gratified their intolerant zeal by plundering and abusing the Christian dogs who now visited the Holy Places at the risk of their lives.

Towards the end of the eleventh century the cry of the oppressed Patriarch of Jerusalem was borne through Christendom by resentful pilgrims escaped from that den of lions. Loudest of all was the voice of Peter the Hermit, a Frenchman who came home to tell the tale of his own sufferings, and with rude but passionate eloquence stirred Christian hearts to share his indignation that Christ's Sepulchre should be held by cruel and insulting miscreants. No help was to be had from the Eastern empire, its own capital threatened by the Turks. The western emperor, excommunicated as he was, had his hands full of troubles at home. It was to his native country that Peter naturally turned; and there he found the Pope ready to head a movement that would stir Europe longer and deeper than he knew.

Urban II, his seat usurped in Italy by the imperial anti-Pope, had come to France, to rebuke in turn the ill doings of its king Philip I, great-grandson of that Hugh Capet who (A.D. 987) had finally supplanted the Carlovingian line. But as yet the French king's power was slight beyond his own territory of Paris and Orleans; and, as in Germany, his feudal vassals were willing to use papal authority for enhancing their quasi-independence. So, in Auvergne, this French-born Pope could brave his sovereign by holding (A.D. 1095) the Council of Clermont, attended by thousands of lords, spiritual and temporal, now in a mood to take up the enterprise for which Hildebrand had called to dull ears. Already inflamed by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, the assemblage received with enthusiasm Urban's appeal for the deliverance of the Holy Land. "It is the will of God!" was the cry, and multitudes hastened to pledge themselves by the badge of a blood-red cross that gave them the name of Crusaders. Before the council broke up, it was arranged that by the August of next year such a Christian army should be gathered as might sweep the Turks from the profaned soil. To encourage men in leaving their homes on this errand, measures were taken to restrain the licence of private war; the Truce of God was proclaimed for half the week; the lands of crusading lords were placed under protection of the Church; debts and crimes were absolved for those engaged on so sacred a task; and if they fell they could be promised a rich reward in heaven.

The great undertaking lacked chiefly a leader, round whose standard the forces of Christendom could rally. The emperor, Henry IV, whose rank might have marked him out for this post, lay under ban of the Church; so for the moment did the kings of France and England. The Pope was urged to lead the crusade in person, but Urban

felt no vocation for warlike activity, and let himself be represented by a legate. The lords and knights ready to fulfil their vow gathered under different chiefs, whose rivalry was like to be a cause of weakness. Both leaders and soldiers were chiefly French or Normans, crusading zeal being slow to kindle in Germany and England, even in most of Italy, all distracted by their national troubles. The Spaniards had a chronic crusade to wage in their own peninsula. So perhaps it came about that, in the nearer East, Europeans still bear the general name of Franks. The first Crusades may almost be taken as fruit of that graft of Norman vigour upon French piety.

The best part of a year had been given for the collection of the crusading host. But those deliberate preparations were outrun by popular enthusiasm, inflamed through the preaching of Peter the Hermit, who went among his fellow-countrymen riding on an ass, bearing a huge cross, to blow up such excitement as may be still experienced at revival meetings. An army of ignorant fanatics called upon him at once to lead them to Jerusalem, and he set out on a so foolhardy errand with some 60,000 people, for whom a soldier known as Walter the Penniless was found as general. Soon this huge rabble split up into two bands; but it was followed by a still more incoherent mass, said to have numbered 200,000, men, women, and children, escorted by a small force of armed horsemen. When no such miracles as they had looked for were wrought in their favour, they took to plundering on all sides for subsistence; and the first heat of Christian ardour was directed against the Jews, robbed and murdered in German cities that lay on the way, till the excommunicated emperor interfered to check a persecution repeatedly renewed in the crusading period. In passing the imperfectly Christianized regions of Hungary and Bulgaria the fanatical pillagers met with stouter resistance; and Peter with a few thousand of his followers reached Constantinople only under guard of the imperial troops, who sold some of them as slaves to pay the expense of these unwelcome guests. When other survivors of the wretched bands came in, the emperor Alexius got rid of such a thievish mob by shipping them across the Bosphorus, where they still could be deluded into thinking themselves able to take Nicæa, now seat of the Seljouk sultan. They were already perishing of hunger and thirst when on the plain before that city the Turkish archers fell upon them, to heap up a pyramid of bones, monument to myriads of unfortunates, most of whom had strewn the long way with their corpses. Only a hundredth part survived, including Peter, who seems to have grown ashamed of his ragged and crack-brained rout.[1]

[1] Much later came the extraordinary episode of the Children's Crusade. In A.D. 1212 a young French shepherd declared that Christ had bidden him preach a crusade; and, as he went singing through the country, he led after him thousands of boys and girls wild with the idea of delivering the Holy Sepulchre. Several thousands of these deluded youngsters reached Marseilles, to be kidnapped by a cunning speculator who sold them as slaves in the East. In Germany, at the same time, some 20,000 children were gathered by a lad named Nicholas, whose father seems to have been a selfish scoundrel, proposing to trade on the son's enthusiasm by selling his comrades also for slaves. The whole multitude became worked up to believe that they could cross the sea dry-footed by help of some miracle, and thus come to conquer Jerusalem and baptize the infidels. The countryfolk where they passed were often kind to them, unless

Meanwhile the better-equipped host of knightly crusaders was gathering under several leaders, like those enumerated in Homer's Catalogue of the forces that set out against Troy. The principal chiefs were Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the French king; Robert, Duke of Normandy, cheated out of his father's English conquest by William Rufus; Robert, Count of Flanders; Stephen, Count of Chartres; Raymond, Count of Toulouse; Bohemond, son of the Norman duke of Apulia, with his cousin Tancred, who came to figure as the Achilles of the war, while its Agamemnon, soon recognized as worthy of command, was Godfrey of Bouillon in the Ardennes, Duke of Brabant, who, with his brothers Eustace and Baldwin, could claim the blood of Charlemagne to give him prestige in such an enterprise as the great emperor led only in romancing history. One probably exaggerated account puts the whole number of their followers at over half a million; and a hundred thousand is the force of armed horsemen, with their attendant train, stated as finally reaching Asia. Myriads strong, at the least, they had to divide themselves by different roads through Europe. The main body, under Godfrey, took, from the Meuse and the Moselle, the line of the Danube and the Save, the route of Peter's rabble, whose excesses had not paved the way for friendly reception of their followers; and Godfrey's column met some difficulty in securing a free passage through Hungary. One division, passing by Rome, did Pope Urban the service of restoring him to his seat, wrested from the emperor's anti-Pope, who soon afterwards died.

The first of the Crusaders to reach Constantinople was Hugh of Vermandois, and he as a prisoner, having been shipwrecked on the coast; then he was released on the approach of Godfrey's army, that almost came to blows with the emperor's troops. Alexius, indeed, hardly knew whether to treat as friends or foes these auxiliaries, among whom the Normans of Apulia were best known to him as formidable assailants. His envoys had sought a reinforcement from the Pope; but he was dismayed by the arrival of such a swarm of arrogant warriors eating up his country as they advanced to its aid. Their reception at Constantinople has been described in the *Alexiad*, that lengthy chronicle of her father's life and acts left us under the name of the princess Anna Comnena, who by this work might claim to be the first female historian. This extract is quoted by Scott in his *Count Robert of Paris*, a hero identified with the rude warrior whose want of complaisant reverence so much shocked the princess.

May, A.D. 1097. As for the multitude of those who advanced towards the Great City, let it be enough to say that they were as the stars in the heaven, or as the sand upon the seashore. They were, in the words of Homer, as many as the leaves and flowers of spring. But for the names

in applauding their extraordinary delusion; but others robbed and ill used them; and it was in a miserable state of starvation that the young travellers got across the Alps and down to the Italian seacoast. Many of them died on the way; many were sold into slavery beyond the sea, or had to become servants in Italy; others perished by shipwreck when they hoped to be at last bound for the Holy Land. Some found homes in Genoa; some part of the poor boys and girls were sent back across the mountains; but too many were never again seen or heard of in their native lands.

of the leaders, though they are present in my memory, I will not relate them. The numbers of these would alone deter me, even if my language furnished the means of expressing their barbarous sounds; and for what purpose should I afflict my readers with a long enumeration of the names of those, whose visible presence gave so much horror to all that beheld them?

As soon therefore as they approached the Great City, they occupied the station appointed for them by the Emperor near to the monastery of Cosmidius. But this multitude were not, like the Hellenic one of old, to be restrained and governed by the loud voices of nine heralds; they required the constant superintendence of chosen and valiant soldiers, to keep them from violating the commands of the Emperor. He meantime laboured to obtain from the other leaders that acknowledgment of his supreme authority, which had already been drawn from Godfrey himself. But, notwithstanding the willingness of some to accede to this proposal and their assistance in working on the minds of their associates, the Emperor's endeavours had little success, as the majority were looking for the arrival of Bohemund, in whom they placed their chief confidence and resorted to every art with the view of gaining time. The Emperor, whom it was not easy to deceive, penetrated their motives; and by granting to one powerful person demands which had been supposed out of all bounds of expectation, and by resorting to a variety of other devices, he at length prevailed and won general assent to the following of the example of Godfrey, who also was sent for in person to assist in this business.

All therefore being assembled, and Godfrey among them, the oath was taken; but when all was finished, a certain Noble among these Counts had the audacity to seat himself on the throne of the Emperor. The Emperor restrained himself and said nothing, for he was well acquainted of old with the nature of the Latins. But the Count Baldwin stepping forth, and seizing him by the hand, dragged him thence, and with many reproaches said: "It becomes thee not to do such things here, especially after having taken the oath of fealty. It is not the custom of the Roman Emperors to permit any of their inferiors to sit beside them, not even of such as are born subjects of their empire; and it is necessary to respect the customs of the country." But he, answering nothing to Baldwin, stared yet more fixedly upon the Emperor, and muttered to himself something in his own dialect, which being interpreted was to this effect: "Behold, what rustic fellow is this, to be seated alone while such leaders stand around him!"

By crafty persuasion the emperor managed to get such unmannerly champions out of his way, sending each army across the Bosphorus before another came to swell its insolence. He might well be suspicious of the princes who paid him reluctant homage, and seem to have been restrained from attacking Constantinople only by the influence of Godfrey, earnestly eager for their mission to deliver Jerusalem. By Whitsuntide (A.D. 1097) the whole motley host was arrayed on the plains of Bithynia, where, to inflame their hearts, they saw that pile of skulls and bones recording the end of those unhappy precursors. Their first step was to besiege the city of Nicæa, protected on one side by a lake, which was blockaded by the emperor's

forces, acting so little in concert with his allies that the Greeks contrived to enter the city while the Crusaders were vainly assaulting its walls, nor would Alexius admit them into a fortress so near his own capital. It was all he could do to soothe their resentment of such double dealing; but they moved on to fight his battles against the Sultan, who, with a huge army of horsemen, had taken to the mountains, watching for chances of attack.

The first signal encounter was at Eskishehir, on the borders of the ancient Phrygia, where Turks and Franks proved themselves warriors worthy of each other's steel. After a long day's fighting the turbaned cavaliers were routed, and left the way clear through Asia. But now their 500-miles march to Syria took the Crusaders through wasted lands, parched by an Eastern summer. They suffered agonies of thirst, and were crippled by sickness. Several of the chiefs had to be carried on litters over the steeps of the Taurus, where luckily their passage was undisputed. Godfrey of Bouillon, who had been mauled by a bear while hunting in the mountains, afterwards came to be spoken of as their general, but as yet he had no commanding authority; and the other leaders soon began to fall out or to fight for their own hands. Tancred and Baldwin, detached from the main body, quarrelled over the capture of Tarsus; then Baldwin turned aside to Edessa, in Mesopotamia, which he seized as a principality for himself.

Thus it was with dwindling and dispirited force that the Christians arrived before Antioch, the capital of Syria, defended by a Turkish garrison behind strong fortifications that kept them out all winter, losing men and horses and often hard put to it for supplies. We can believe romancing chroniclers that those champions performed prodigies of valour when they got a chance in open field; but they did not shine at the patient labours of a siege, and failed even completely to invest the city. When it had delayed them more than half a year, the Norman Bohemond got into correspondence with a renegade inside, who offered to betray his post; then for this service Bohemond demanded from his comrades that he should be recognized Prince of Antioch. The treachery was carried out; the Franks burst within the walls at one point, and thence mastered all the place except the citadel, still held by Turks that had escaped massacre. And before long, with this thorn in the side of their conquest, the Crusaders found themselves in turn besieged by a huge army which, under Kerboga, emir of Mosul, had been gathered for the relief of Antioch, while the troops of Alexius, accompanied by reinforcements from Europe, had seen best to retreat to Constantinople.

In this plight fanaticism was worked on by trickery to restore the flagging enthusiasm of the crusade. A feigned discovery came to be made of the Holy Lance that had pierced the side of Christ, its hiding place in Antioch revealed by St. Andrew to a Provençal priest This apparent miracle for the moment so roused the superstitious warriors that, choosing Bohemond as leader, they sallied out once

THE CRUSADES
1096-1270
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
NORTH SEA
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
DENMARK
VARANGIAN SEA
RUSSIA
LITHUANIA
POLOSK
ESTHONIA
MORDVINS
KIEV
CUMANS OR POLOVZIANS
KHAZARS
ALANS
BLACK SEA
KINGDOM OF POLAND
PRUZZIANS
SLAVINIA
POMERANIA
SAXONIA
BRANDENBURG
WESTPHALIA
HOLLAND
BRABANT
FRISIA
HASSIA
MISNIA
BOHEMIA
FRANCONIA
SUEVIA
BAVARIA
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
AQUILEIA
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Buda Pest
BULGARIANS
SERVIA
ROMAN EMPIRE
WESTERN
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Paris
Rouen
Orleans
Tours
Nantes
Clermont
BURGUNDY
Geneva
Lyons
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Arles
Avignon
Marseilles
Nice
KINGDOM OF LEON
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
NAVARRE
Toledo
Barcelona
Valencia
Kurtuba
ALMOHADS (MUWAHHIDS)
Lisbon
Portugal
Kadis
Tangar
Wahran
Al Gezair
Buna
Tunis
Susa
Safakis
Tarabulus El Gharb
Barka
Alexandria
Rhakotis
Cyprus
Candia
Rhodes
Smyrna
Ephesus
Pergamus
Nicomedia
Constantinople
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Thessalonica
Larissa
Corfu
Durazzo
Brindisium
Bari
Sipontum
Naples
Rome
Pisa
Genoa
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
Ancona
Spalatum
Ragusa
Gaita
Capua
Salerno
Amalfi
Palermo
Messina
Catania
Syracuse
Panormus
Mazzara
Carlis
Cagliari
Sardinia
Corsica
Mayurka
Pescara
Tuscia
Romandiola
Dalmatia
KINGDOM OF SICILY
EAST ROMAN EMPIRE
SELJUKS OF RUM
Iconium
Caesarea
Ankuriya
Sinope
Amisus
Trebizond
Amasia
Antioch
Aleppo
Damascus
Edessa
ARMENIA MINOR
Tripoli
Acre
Jerusalem
Jaffa
Ascalon
Damietta
Gaza
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
DOMINIONS OF SALADIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Richard's Fleet
Fleet of Richard I, 1190
Louis IX, 1270
Philip II, 1191
Richard I, 1191
Frederick II, 1228
Andrew of Hungary, 1217
Louis IX, 1248
Louis VII, 1147
Bouillon, 1096
Conrad III, 1148
John Bartholomew & Co., Edinr

more to scatter the Turks, though, hardly any horses being left, the mail-clad knights had for the nonce to fight on foot, assisted, as they believed, by saints appearing to their aid like the Castor and Pollux of ancient mythology. In the enemy's camp they took rich booty, and slaughtered Turkish women in the same barbarous fury as had taught them to bombard Antioch with dead foemen's heads.

There was little of Christian spirit or of martial discipline among those soldiers of the Cross, who by their own dissolute folly had almost thrown away the fruit of such a victory. When they came by provisions they wasted them, then presently were again brought to starvation. Drunkenness and vice laid them low in this city of evil repute for luxurious pleasures. The Pope's legate was one of many victims of the plague, now breaking out among a host crowded together in pestilential conditions. Their sense of duty was so slackened that one body could be stirred into action only by having their quarters set on fire, a rude method of eviction that came near to destroying the whole city. Several of the leaders had taken some excuse to return to Europe; now the soldiers deserted in troops, and even Peter the Hermit was found fainthearted in the cause he had preached so vehemently. Jealousies were heated to quarrels. Bohemond's assumption of the lordship of Antioch made one sore point; another was that "Holy Lance" discovered and claimed by the followers of Raymond, so the Normans declared their disbelief in the miracle, which the priest, its contriver, had to test by the ordeal of fire, that cost him his life. Envoys to Alexius brought no aid: the emperor was well content that these troublesome allies, after slaughtering the Turks for him, should waste themselves in disease and bickerings.

Nearly a year more they lay idly dwindling away; and but for a few ardent spirits, like Godfrey's and Tancred's, might have gone no farther on their religious enterprise. At Antioch they had already received an embassy from the Egyptian Caliph, who was anticipating them in the conquest of Palestine from the Turks, and offered to open Jerusalem to unarmed pilgrims if he were left undisturbed in this conquest. But while some of the crusading lords dispersed to slink home or to seek their own fortunes among the ruins of Asian principalities, others did not forget their vow to plant the Cross on the Holy City.

Thither, in the spring of A.D. 1099, set out an army reduced to some 40,000, not all of these fit for martial service, and most of them obliged to march on foot. Passing along the coast, meeting here no serious resistance, in touch with supplies from Italian ships that accompanied their march, at Jaffa they turned inland, and at last stood on a height which gave them a view of their goal.

> Lo! on their sight Jerusalem arose!
> The sacred towers each pointing finger shows;
> *Jerusalem* was heard from ev'ry tongue,
> *Jerusalem* a thousand voices rung.

Thus, some bold mariners, a hardy band,
Whose venturous search explores a distant land,
And braving dubious seas, and unknown skies,
The faithless winds and treacherous billows tries;
When first the wished-for shore salutes their eye,
Bursts from their lips at once the joyful cry;
Each shows the welcome soil, and pleased at last,
Forgets his weary way, and dangers past.
—Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered.*

The poet goes on to tell how at the first sight those rough warriors burst into a passion of tears, then, stripping off what finery the long march had spared them, barefoot and in penitential guise they approached the sanctuary that still has power to draw tears from eyes upraised to "the worship of Sorrow". But tears would not open for them the gates of a walled city stoutly defended by the Caliph's lieutenant, Aladin, with a garrison that seems to have been at least as strong as the assailants. Their first onset was beaten back, nor did the walls fall, like those of Jericho, when round them in solemn procession they bore the ensign of their faith, exposed in vain to mockery and insult from the defenders. They must lay siege to the fortress for more than a month, troubled by hunger and still more by thirst on a sterile soil that hardly afforded wood for the construction of such engines as served for artillery. As far off as Shechem they had to go for a grove, the "Enchanted Forest" of Tasso's poem, that supplied timber from which Genoese artificers constructed two movable towers to be rolled forward to the weakest parts of the defences. Their fiery zeal was fanned by preaching; and at the crisis of the assault St. George was believed to appear on Mount Olivet, beckoning them on. So upon a Friday of July, at the very hour of the Passion, as was noted, the Crusaders burst into Jerusalem, three years after setting out for this achievement.

An awful carnage celebrated their long-delayed victory. Maddened by enthusiasm, they slew till they could boast of riding up to their horses' knees in blood. Seventy thousand Moslems are said to have been massacred, besides more unhappy Jews who were burned in their synagogues. Only when weary of killing did the servants of Christ turn to the Holy Sepulchre to kneel in an ecstasy of devotion before the relics of their Lord—

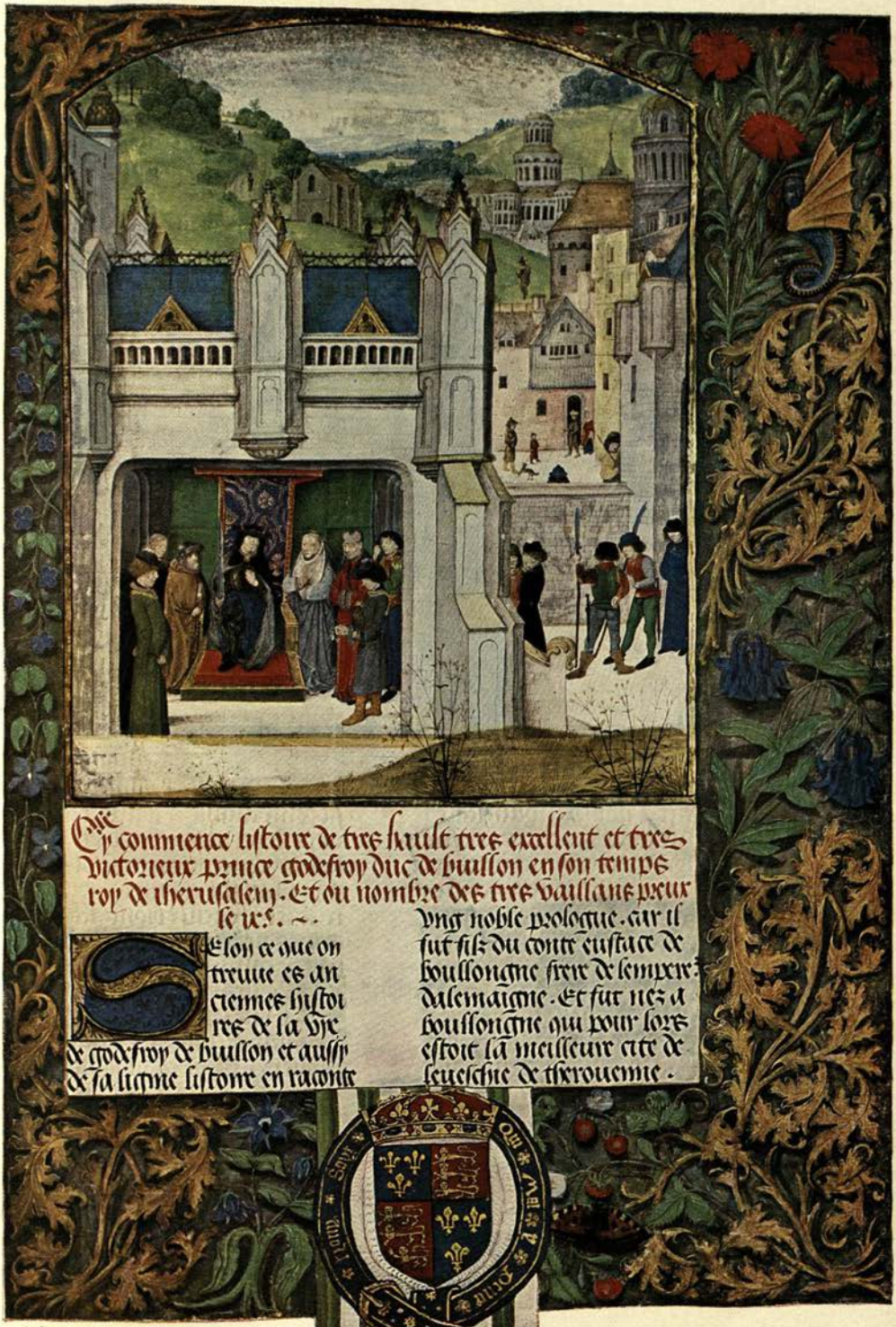
Whose sad face on the Cross sees only this
After the passion of a thousand years.

Yet their piety did not move them to compassion. The massacre was renewed next day. A band of prisoners spared by Tancred were butchered in cold blood as a sacrifice to the God of mercy. His covetous rival Raymond contrived to preserve the lives of other captives, but only with the view of turning them to profit in the slave market. Sir G. W. Cox, in his story of the Crusades, may well contrast these blood-

HISTORY OF GODFREY DE BOUILLON, KING OF JERUSALEM.

This plate is taken from an illuminated manuscript of Flemish work in the British Museum, dating from late fifteenth century. The language of the manuscript is French. The page here reproduced consists of a fine miniature showing a king and his court, with buildings and landscape. There is a border of flowers and gilt scrolls on a dark-grey ground. The arms of England at the foot of the page were perhaps painted in later.

Although Godfrey is called "King of Jerusalem" in the manuscript, he never accepted the title, being known simply as "Advocate or Defender of the Holy Sepulchre". The kingdom of Jerusalem began strictly with his brother and successor, Baldwin I, in 1100, and ended with the fall of Acre in 1291, although the city of Jerusalem itself was finally lost to the Christians in 1244.


Cy commence listoire de tres hault tres excellent et tres victorieux prince godefroy duc de bouillon en son temps roy de iherusalem. Et du nombre des tres vaillans preux le .ix^e.

Selon ce que on treuue es anciennes histoires de la vie de godefroy de bouillon et aussi de sa lignie listoire en racontre vng noble prologue. car il fut filz du conte eustace de boullongne frere de lempereur dalemaigne. Et fut nez a boullongne qui pour lors estoit la meilleure cite de leuesche de thierouenne.

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HISTORY OF GODFREY DE BOUILLON

FLEMISH: 15 TH CENTURY (BRITISH MUSEUM)

thirsty excesses with the conduct of Omar, the Moslem conqueror of Jerusalem, who would not permit his followers even to profane a Christian church.

A week later Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen king of Jerusalem, who, among the remaining chiefs, had proved himself the noblest and ablest. His piety was evinced by a refusal to take the royal title in a city where Christ had been crowned with thorns; so he modestly styled himself Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. At once he had to defend it against the advance of the Egyptian army, but at Ascalon this was so utterly overthrown, that Godfrey could soon send home the mass of his comrades, keeping only 2000 soldiers and Tancred with 300 knights to guard Jerusalem.

His kingdom here seemed a restricted and precarious one, where several strong points were still in the hands of the Moslem. But it is probable that no small number of pilgrims remained to settle in Palestine, forming with the Syrian Christians communities that came under the authority of the new king, whose dominion would grow to cover Palestine, while the princedoms of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripolis, carved out for themselves by selfish crusaders, recognized a certain allegiance to the lord of the Holy City.

Godfrey lived only a year to enjoy his dominion, but he did much to found it firmly, both Turks and Egyptians taking warning to leave him alone for a time. On feudal models he drew up a code of laws known as the "Assize of Jerusalem", which made a constitution for the new state. Another European influence was brought to bear by a Latin bishop's appointment as Patriarch of Jerusalem, who claimed the kingdom as a fief of the Holy See, and put himself forward for its sovereignty when Godfrey died A.D. 1100. This arrogant prelate's pretensions were rejected, Godfrey's brother Baldwin being chosen as his successor. Their heirs held the throne till near the end of the next century, when the crusading wars took a new turn from the prowess of Saladin. Not for a century more were the Christians expelled (A.D. 1291) from Acre, their last foothold in Palestine.

Seven notable Crusades, besides minor expeditions, were led to the East, none of them so successful as that first burst of ill-regulated enthusiasm. Their most apparent result was in drawing off Turkish attack from the shaken Byzantine empire. But they had various indirect effects, not perceived at the time. One of these was in elevating, refining, and consecrating the medieval chivalry that would play such a part in Europe up to modern days. An uglier gift appears to have been the spread of leprosy from the East; in Stephen's reign was built the first English leper house. The use of crests and armorial bearings seems also to date from those international expeditions, when the medley of knights had to be distinguished from each other in their shells of armour, which they would now learn to shield under ornamental surcoats against the rays of a hot sun.

The origin of chivalrous manners must be sought far back in the proud and adventurous spirit of Teuton chiefs. The flower of Charle-

magne's levy already were mail-clad horsemen; war had become a profession for those who had means to devote themselves to it; and knights in armour made the strength of the crusading armies. Among them martial ardour took a nobler form, organized for what seemed a pious duty, and developing a sense of obligations higher than those of rude comradeship. It was not till later that the young knight was as matter of course dubbed with symbolical rites and bound by vows of honour and courtesy that developed into the scrupulous, even extravagant refinements we associate with perfect, gentle knighthood. There were few perfect knights, and their gentleness was apt to be shown rather towards equals than to the common men whose fields were ruthlessly trampled down by chivalric war. But now courage and pride became glorified by a religious spirit, which proved congenial to the old Adam when hacking and hewing could be taken as a service to heaven. The associations of Palestine had such an exalting effect on the knights who devoted themselves to its defence that, after the model of the cloister, they took on themselves vows of celibacy, purity, obedience, and unselfishness, as well as the character of knightly virtue. Thus arose the two famous orders of Hospitallers, or knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and of the Templars, the former originally bound to tend poor and sick pilgrims, the latter to defend them on their way to the holy shrines. Both of these orders made a better fight for their sanctuaries than for their ideals; and the Templars, who began with a profession of humble poverty typified by their badge of two men riding on one horse, came to an end through the ostentation of wealthy arrogance that made them objects of hatred and suspicion over Europe. On the same model was formed the Teutonic Order of Knights that undertook the conversion and conquest of the heathen Prussians, whom they turned into subjects.

If such mail-clad missionaries proved cruel and haughty, as well as zealous, they were at least no more inconsistent than smug citizens diligent in attending church or chapel, yet on six days in the week most earnestly concerned in serving the altars of Mammon. It would be too much to hope that all believers in any age lived up to their professions. Some of the Crusaders were moved by heartfelt piety; some by sympathy for fellow Christians in the East or antipathy to their oppressors; some by promises of absolution and salvation offered to the Church's champions; some by the example of renowned leaders; some by prospects of gain or ambition; some by mere love of novelty and adventure; the most of them perhaps by a mixture of all these motives, uniting in a contagious excitement that for two centuries spasmodically fevered the mind of Europe.

Those recurrent fits of religious bellicosity had permanent effects on the political and economic state of the Christian kingdoms. The chronic pains of private war were drawn off by such an absorbing counter-irritant in the East. The power of kings, as well as the hoards of Jewish usurers, profited through the needs of lords who, to provide means for a dashing appearance as Crusaders, had often to sell or

pledge their lands, might even lightly abandon them, dazzled by a prospect of greater possessions in some earthly or heavenly kingdom. In the long run the thrones of Christendom were more firmly fixed upon the ruin, or in the absence, of their arrogant vassals. At the moment the Church got the most evident gain as guardian, purchaser, or heir of estates which it undertook to protect while the owner ran risks in its service. The nascent prosperity of cities, also, flourished at the expense of neighbours whose domineering had been removed to a distance. So, as Gibbon puts it, the Crusades helped to undermine the Gothic edifice, in which industry and improvement were crushed by the iron weight of aristocrats whose poverty now "extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The conflagration which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest gave air and scope to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive plants of the soil."

The immediate profit of the Crusades was to the Pope, who, as their patron, could make good his claim on the allegiance of princedoms. That union of Christendom for a common end helped to exalt the one power that had a right to collect and administer international contributions of money and service. So now the See of St. Peter took a bolder tone in exhortations and excommunications of disobedient sovereigns as of nonconforming bishops. Both its spiritual and its temporal power waxed for good and evil. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, effective founder of the Cistercians, who preached the second Crusade, made himself champion of Roman orthodoxy against speculative scholars like Abelard. Before the crusading spirit had spent its force the Popes could turn it against the heretic Albigenses of Provence, taught sound doctrine by infamous massacres under steel whetted in Moslem war. The fierceness of mail-clad missionaries here drenched Christian soil with kindred blood. Women and children were burned to death, when one bloodthirsty bishop exhorted to indiscriminate slaughter of human sheep and goats with the cry: "God will know his own!" Such was man's inhumanity to man in those ages of a blinded faith. The most notable leader in this persecution was the pious Simon de Montfort, father of the English earl renowned as leader in the Barons' war, that led to the foundation of our Parliamentary constitution.

This persecution began early in the thirteenth century under Innocent III, with whom the power of the Popedom seemed to rise to its zenith. He was able to enlist in the service of the Church a new militia that in the end availed it more than the arms of Hospitallers or Templars. The same spirit as urged knights to the Crusades woke at home a religious revival engendering a swarm of mendicant friars to shame the sluggishness into which rich monks had fallen. The two great orders then founded were the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

St. Francis of Assisi seems one of the most lovable of enthusiasts. A respectable merchant's son, in his youth he was gay, careless, and profligate, if we may believe his own accusations; but a serious illness brought about one of those violent revulsions of feeling hailed in all churches as miracles of saving grace. He began by running away from home, and changing clothes with a beggar. His father in vain tried to bring him back to common sense by blows, and his comrades by pelting him with dirt. Such persecutions he welcomed as part of self-inflicted tortures in which he rivalled an Indian fakir: he sought the company of lepers, and, as penance for having once eaten a bit of a fowl on a fast day, he had himself dragged naked through the streets and beaten with a rope. His austerity indeed was for himself; his heart ran over with love for both man and beast. He seems to hover on the verge of insanity in preaching to his "brothers the birds", and in calling on inanimate nature to praise the Lord. A humane sensibility, rare in that age, was shown in the legends of his saving a hare from the hunters and selling his cloak to ransom a lamb from the butcher. But by and by the transports of his exaltation took a more practical form, while all his life he kept a steady glow of simple-minded earnestness that had nothing of fierce fanaticism. "Rejoice in the Lord!" was the refrain with which he went about chanting the raptures of his changed life in place of the worldly songs that once delighted him.

When he had gathered together twelve sympathetic disciples he appeared before the Pope, seeking a licence for them to beg their way through the world as exhorters and helpers of their fellow men. After consideration, Innocent blessed the enterprise; then Francis chose for his own mission the forlorn hope of converting the Saracens. In time of war he visited the Sultan of Egypt, who, perhaps taking him for a lunatic, sent him away unharmed. After a few years the Franciscans, as they came to be called, numbered several thousands in Italy alone, and were recruiting themselves all over Europe, where they appealed to the masses by their genuine devotion, as by an unconventionally spectacular presentation of faith that made them the Salvation Army of the period. The Minor Friars, or Minorites, was the title they took in sign of fraternal humility; the Gray Friars being an alias bestowed on them from the colour of their frock. Their leader soon found a sister in enthusiasm, the St. Clare that gave her name to a kindred order of Poor Clares or Minorite nuns, whose convent godmothered the Minories in London. Later, Francis largely extended his influence by a Tertiary lay order, which received sympathetic souls of both sexes, not prepared to bind themselves by monastic vows. But the organization of which he was the nucleus had grown beyond his control, and he gave up the leadership of it, when already it displayed fissiparous tendencies, while beginning to rise out of the utter poverty in which its founder exulted. He died A.D. 1226, not foreseeing to what an army his irregular band of missionaries would grow, how they would be divided into rival corps, and how far they

Photo. Alinari

ST. DOMINIC. *From a statuette on the marble sarcophagus in the Church of S. Domenico, Bologna.*

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. *From a statuette in the Cathedral of Toledo.*

would depart from their original simplicity in becoming the most numerous of monastic orders.

Of a different spirit were the Black Friars set on foot by St. Dominic of Spain. More of an orthodox theologian, and less of a warm-hearted saint than St. Francis, with not less zeal he devoted himself to the conversion of heretics; and from his stern enthusiasm sprang the baneful energies of the Inquisition. His self-imposed mission to the Albigenses brought on the persecution of those schismatics, whose creed indeed was hardly so sound as some good Protestants take it to have been, for the south of France had been infected by Oriental heresies so far as to scandalize the ruder neighbours of what was then the most civilized region in Europe. It was not at once that the Dominicans obtained papal or popular favour, but by the successor of Innocent they were recognized as a body of itinerant preachers, that would spread over the Christian world, producing from their ranks many famous churchmen, taking a leading place in Universities, and gaining a position in the Church which they did not lose till overshadowed by the Jesuit order.

The Franciscans and Dominicans soon grew to be familiar figures in all Christian lands, which they filled with their rivalries and recriminations. In a generation or two the mendicant friars, whose original mission was to the poor, had become the monitors and counsellors of princes. In A.D. 1241 Matthew Paris speaks of the Preachers and Minorites as comparatively new and unknown orders in England; yet two years later he can reproach them with their quarrels and with the pride that already built dwellings like royal palaces. What to him seemed one of the worst faults in those invaders was their activity as collectors of tribute for Rome, always a sore point in England. To such strength had grown the humble devotion of the friars, sprung from the same hotbed of zeal as brought forth proud orders of chivalry.

CHAPTER VI

Frederick Barbarossa (A.D. 1123–1190)

Italy itself, the seat of the Latin Church, bore its share of crusading enterprise chiefly in the fleets supplied by maritime cities like Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, which had an eye to commerce as well as to creed, and found now an opportunity to increase their trade with the East. Venice, fortified landwards by her lagoons, had early become an almost independent state. The ineffective hold of Constantinople on Southern Italy allowed several ports there to set up as practical republics, defending themselves against Norman and Saracen raiders. Other trading towns on the Mediterranean grew into the same position of quasi-independence, as did inland cities, notably those with which the rich plain of Lombardy was thickly set. Their rising power had already undermined the feudal and chivalric organization that made fighting the chief end of man; yet among bitter quarrels and much obscure bloodshed were here laid new foundations of society.

It is a question among historians whether these civic bodies derived their institutions more from the ruins of the Roman republic or from the spirit of freedom brought into Italy by its Teuton invaders: there is a similar question as to how far the municipality of London was outlined by Roman memories. The old Roman republic, overshadowed in turn by the power of Cæsars, Popes, and Western Emperors, had still root in the city where from time to time it sent out fresh signs of life. More than once it was nominally restored, with consuls, senators, and popular assemblies; and against its many masters the part of Brutus or Gracchus was at long intervals assumed by such patriots as Alberic, Arnold of Brescia, and Rienzi. But the Lombards had brought across the Alps the same sturdy temper of enterprise as filled trading towns on the Baltic and the Rhine; and their Italian cities did not always follow the lead of Rome.

We have seen how, when the Lombard power was crushed by Pepin and Charlemagne, Northern Italy became a frequent bone of contention between the Pope and the Emperor, a quarrel multiplied in minor local disputes between nobles and bishops. Of such distractions the burghers took advantage to secure privileges and immunities for the walled towns in which they could shut themselves up while storms of war rolled by their gates, and might parley with leaders seeking to buy their support. The emperors' long absences from Italy weakened the authority of governors whom they imposed on cities nominally under their rule but could not support against

turbulent citizens. Official and hereditary lords gave place to elected magistrates, consuls, and councillors, who at first were likely to be chosen from men of good birth. The country gentry were often absorbed into city life, drawn by like allurements as those that tempted Browning's "Person of Quality" in later days, with greater safety into the bargain—crowds, processions, spectacles, news, lively scenes for idle eyes, and bells and music for sleepy ears—

> Something to see, by Bacchus, something to hear at least!
> There, the whole day long, one 's life is a perfect feast;
> While up at a villa one lives, I maintain it, no more than a beast.

Even rich nobles, too, did not disdain to take up their residence in towers or castles within the city walls, where their mettlesome dignity bred discords, apt to be kept up also by the division of the city into rival quarters. Sometimes the citizens, falling out with an oppressive neighbour, were able to drive him from his adjacent castle, and thus extended their rule over a few miles of surrounding country and villages, so as to form small states like those of Greece in classical times, like them much troubled by factions within and feuds without, and like them destined to be swallowed up by one another, or crushed by more stable powers. The only one of the once-famous Italian republics that still survives as a curious relic of the past is San Marino, a tiny territory keeping its independence on a spur of the Apennines above the Adriatic coast.

It may have been their infusion of blue blood that made these communities uncommonly bellicose, not only against noble oppressors, but against one another. Lying often almost in sight of each other, they had frequent causes of quarrel in questions of boundary, of trespass, and of water rights on the streams and canals by which the Lombard plain was irrigated; perhaps also in such neighbourly jibes as are freely directed upon Bœotians and Gothamites in the next parish or countryside; then rival communities might take opposite parts in the political disputes that involved them. The burghers were not yet so business-like but that they cherished a good deal of their warlike ancestors' temper, and not too busy for holiday raids upon an enemy within a day or two's march. Spasmodic campaigns were renewed year after year, extending their area and rancours till the town life of Lombardy became hardly less martial than that of feudal barons. When some small cities were crushed or amalgamated by more powerful neighbours, it was natural for others to make alliance for mutual protection, like the states of ancient Greece. About the time of the first Crusade most of the North Italian cities had grouped themselves in two great leagues round the chief rivals, Milan and Pavia, lying little over twenty miles apart.

Milan, after repeated disasters, was still the principal city of Lombardy. For a time capital of later Roman emperors, it tried to keep the prestige of crowning Charlemagne's successors as kings of Italy.

A German emperor who claimed his full honours received three crowns—the silver at Aix, the iron in Lombardy, the golden at Rome. The iron crown, apparently so called as containing a nail of the Cross, was in charge of the Archbishops of Milan, who were inclined to hold their heads high against the Popes, and stood often as leaders of a virtual schism that set up their predecessor Ambrose's traditional sanctity against the see of St. Peter. In the eleventh century Archbishop Heribert played the prince as well as the churchman, leading armies and bearing himself with such haughtiness as to incur the displeasure of the emperor Conrad. Taken prisoner, he escaped, and was received with enthusiasm by the Milanese, who for his sake stood a siege from which the imperial army retired, baffled by a portentous storm in which St. Ambrose was believed to send thunderbolts from heaven against the enemies of his city. To Heribert is ascribed the device of the *Carroccio*, a high car drawn by oxen, on which an altar was canopied by banners, as rallying-point for the city militia. Such a movable shrine, like the Ark of the Hebrews, was soon adopted by all the cities as their standard, guarded by picked men, and making the focus of an action both for assailants and defenders. Introduced into Crusading warfare also, the first appearance of a Carroccio is said to have appalled a Saracen army, as the Wooden Horse amazed the Trojans. Milan long kept up its military reputation by becoming a great medieval manufactory of arms and armour, as well as the cradle of modern banking.

Pavia, the capital of the Lombard kings, was a jealous rival of Milan, and also claimed the privilege of bestowing that iron crown, while, as if to avoid dispute, the ceremony seems to have been performed at Monza, where the crown is still preserved. The people of Pavia stood by the imperial power, the Milanese being more set on liberty. But amid their aspirations to independence all these cities still looked on the emperor as their overlord, to whom they readily turned in their dissensions, when in the middle of the twelfth century a young and energetic prince succeeded to the German throne.

This was Frederick I, known from his red beard as *Barbarossa*, a byname he shares in history with a notorious pirate usurper of Algiers. His uncle, Conrad III, had gained the empire for the Suabian house of Hohenstaufen, bearing the alias of the *Waiblingers* from a town on their territory. Their chief rivals in Germany, as already mentioned, were the *Welfs* of Bavaria, still represented in our royal family. These two names became in Italian speech *Ghibelline* and *Guelf*, which grew to label respectively the imperial or aristocratic interest in Italy, and the more patriotic party that rather looked to the Pope as its leader. Such a division of tendencies was no new one; but it fell to Frederick's lot to shape the antagonism gathering head under these badges, that would distract Italy long after the original meaning of them had been almost forgotten. He was a bold, active, and well-meaning prince, who laid himself out to imitate Charlemagne in a firm rule of justice, but, like other descend-

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FREDERICK I ("BARBAROSSA")

Relief in stone, Cloister of St. Zeno, Reichenhall, Bavaria

ants of that hero, found it too hard a task to deal with recurrent disorders on both sides of the Alps. By the irony of fate, while in the north he won a grateful name as a benefactor and protector, in the south he came to be best remembered as a baffled oppressor, after brave and patient struggles that earned him at least a place among Carlyle's admired strong men.

Almost at once he was called on to interfere in Lombardy, where the people of Lodi, oppressed by the Milanese, appealed to him for protection. Two years after his accession, in A.D. 1154, Frederick descended into Italy with a strong army, as he was to do six times again. He was received with perfunctory respect by Milan and its allies, soon exasperated against him by the ravages of his German soldiery, and by his taking and burning Tortona as punishment for its refusing to break its league with Milan. At Pavia he found a warmer welcome, and assumed the Iron Crown, before marching on to Rome, where the Pope also sought aid from his secular arm.

Adrian IV was Nicholas Brakespeare, noted as the only Englishman who attained the Papal chair. When he came to it, Rome was in one of its fits of rebellious republicanism, led by Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of the famous heretic Abelard, and an earnest reformer, hot against corruptions of Church and State. For the first time the Holy City itself was now laid under an interdict by that foreign Pope, who looked to Frederick to set him firm on his seat in return for receiving the imperial crown. But the terrors of excommunication were enough to bring Rome to submission; its people expelled Arnold, to fall into the emperor's hands, who delivered him to the Pope for hasty execution. That stirred the Romans to fresh revolt against their spiritual lord, and the Senate sent to deal with Frederick on its own account, offering to admit him to the city on payment of a large sum. Treating the offer with contempt, he marched on, but did not venture farther than the trans-Tiberine suburb, the bridge being held by his troops while the Pope crowned him in St. Peter's. The ceremony over, and the new-made emperor gone, the Romans burst across the bridge to slay what German stragglers they could catch, a slaughter for which Frederick returned to take fierce vengeance. Such collisions were the common result of a German army coming to Rome. Nor had this Cæsar gained much favour from the Pope, whose stirrup he omitted to hold in customary mark of respect on their meeting outside the city. He had intended to push on to Southern Italy against the Normans in Apulia; but the heat fevered and disheartened his soldiers, so that soon he was glad to turn northwards, recrossing the Alps with some hindrance in the ill will of his Lombard subjects, being refused admission into several towns, and not venturing to attack Milan, now recognized as the leader of opposition against him. He left as his viceroy the Marquis of Montferrat, one of the few great feudal lords who still retained influence in Lombardy.

In A.D. 1158 Frederick returned with a fresh army to hold a diet in Lombardy, at which he got much of his own way in what seems

to have been an honest attempt to secure order. He changed the elected consuls of the cities for a magistrate called Podesta, appointed on his authority as a stranger to local feuds. Such a governor, forced upon the quarrelsome citizens, proved so good an institution as to be adopted by the young republics, that learned to elect podestas from outside instead of consuls. The emperor took other steps to restrain private war and to extend his power over the recalcitrancy of cities like Milan, which felt strong enough to deny him all but lip service.

German troops in Italy always tending to melt away in the course of a campaign or two, at the end of the year Frederick found his army too weak to humble defiant Milan, and had to content himself with attacking its ally, the little city of Crema, an enterprise in which he was backed by its enemies the men of Cremona. Crema defending itself gallantly, in the heat of the siege Frederick let his temper goad him into cruelties that are a stain on his name. He hanged hostages and prisoners in sight of the walls as a warning, to which the garrison retorted by hanging their own captives. A number of the townsfolk's children came into the emperor's hands, whom he had the cruelty to fasten upon a movable siege-tower pushed up against the walls, so that several of these young victims were killed or wounded by the hands of their own parents, calling out to them not to fear death in a good cause. It took half a year to vanquish such stubborn resistance, then the city was burned and its fortifications razed to the ground, the survivors being allowed to take refuge in Milan. Frederick's barbarities in this siege seem to have excited strong feeling against him; it is said that now the Italians gave him the nickname of Barbarossa from a feature which to his German subjects would not have so diabolic effect. Another charge against him is that of laying heavy imposts on the cities, all the heavier, no doubt, because he could not always levy them, and must often have been hard put to it for funds to keep his army together.

Milan itself had been for some time blockaded rather than besieged by Frederick, who hoped to reduce it by ravaging its open fields and cutting off its supplies. Here also he showed cruelty in mutilating peasants caught carrying provisions to that capital of opposition. His incoherent forces were not strong enough to come to close quarters with a well-fortified place defended by 50,000 armed burghers. Elsewhere his difficulties were thickening. On the efficiency of his German army depended the support of the Pope, who intrigued with the Normans, and with the Eastern emperor, against this inconvenient patron, from different points of view taken as vassal or as suzerain of the Church. At Adrian's death the Cardinals elected one Pope, the Romans another; then Frederick, claiming the right of decision, supported the latter, and was excommunicated by the former, who, as Alexander III, became generally recognized over the imperial anti-Pope.

In A.D. 1161, receiving reinforcements from Germany that swelled his army to a strength of 100,000, the long-baffled emperor appeared

Burgundy
Tyrol
Friuli
HUNGARY
Istria
ADRIATIC SEA
Dalmatia
TUSCANY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Lipari Islands
SICILY
Malta
ITALY
IN TIME OF
FREDERICK BARBAROSSA
Papal Territory
Imperial ,,
Cities of Lombard League 1167 thus Verona
,, Tuscan ,, 1196 ,, Pisa
English Miles
John Bartholomew & Co. Edinr.

before the walls of Milan, but soon returned to his policy of starving it out. The Milanese made desperate sallies in vain. After a winter of painful suffering and sanguinary internal discords they were fain to offer submission on terms; but Frederick demanded unconditional surrender. Before long they came to that, when, to embitter their humiliation, it was at Lodi, the city which they had oppressed, now Frederick's headquarters, that the ceremony took place, thus described by the Italian historian, G. B. Testa:—

When the Carroccio was to be brought to him, the principal inhabitants of three Gates went forth in procession before the car, which bore upon its central staff, as usual, the great banner of the Commune, whilst to the sides of it, around its altar, for the mournful ceremony of that day, were affixed all the banners of the parishes (in number more than a hundred) into which were subdivided the militias of the Gates. As this civic monument passed along from street to street in the direction of Lodi, the people ran in crowds to see it; and never had it appeared to them so beautiful and precious as at that moment, when it seemed to be bearing away with it all the glory of its Commune. After it, came the chief inhabitants of the other Gates, with crosses in their hands, as suppliants for mercy. When they arrived at Lodi, and came into the presence of the Emperor, who, sitting upon his throne, with his Barons around him, awaited them at the gate of his palace, the trumpets of the vanquished gave their signal for the last time, and the staff of the great banner, by a mechanical contrivance, was slowly lowered towards him; he touched its border as a sign that the homage was accepted; and immediately the staff was raised up into its place again as before. Whilst the Carroccio thus stood before him, with all its banners, and with the two trumpets, which were regarded as a symbol of the authority of the Commune, one of the Consuls came forward, and, falling on his knees, in a few words, often broken by his grief, humbly besought Frederick to deal mercifully with his city. Then all the people fell prostrate before him, and with cries and tears, holding up the crosses, loudly implored his pardon. The Count of Biandrate, at that sight, could no longer remain standing with the German barons; suddenly stepping forth from amongst them, and taking a cross like the rest, he threw himself, in the sight of all, at the Emperor's feet, beseeching him to forgive that unhappy people. All the court was touched with the behaviour of so great a baron; and louder rose the cries of the multitude, who became still more apprehensive of a cruel destiny, when they saw that Frederick, stern and impassive, seemed to give no heed to the Count, and showed no sign of relenting. Then, catching at their last hope, they turned to the window where the Empress was, and, lifting up the crosses, pleaded piteously for mercy. Nothing did they obtain from Frederick, but a promise that he would set them free, on the morrow, from the ban of the Empire. Then, when they had taken the oath of allegiance, he commanded the Consuls to send him 114 patricians that so, with the 286 he had received already, he might have in his hands 400 hostages; after which he allowed the people to return home, giving orders, however, that at every Gate of Milan, the wall should be broken down and the ditch filled up, so as to form a wide road into the city for the entrance of his army.

The sorest enemies of the prostrate city were the Lombard neigh-

bours who had helped to bring about its fall. Frederick is accused of letting himself be bribed to severity by money from these allies. After keeping the Milanese a few days in suspense he ordered them to abandon their proud city, which was given up to destruction. He himself came among the imploring populace to see his sentence carried out, as was done by the hands of Italians, eager to ruin their hated rivals, the men of Pavia and Lodi being forward in this work of revenge. The destruction went on for a week, during which the gates, walls, and many of the houses were broken down; and in the course of the year those ill neighbours came back more than once to carry out the work of demolition. The churches were to be spared; but they too suffered from damage and robbery, while the helpless population scattered abroad to seek new homes as best they could.

The crushing of Milan was looked on by Frederick as a triumph, but from it dated a movement of resentful feeling, that gathered head against him during his next absence in Germany. Coming back then without troops, in belief that Lombardy would be at his feet, he found even former allies cool towards him, and other cities in such a temper that he saw well to hurry home over the Alps. In 1166 he returned with a fresh army, but had to lead it through a hostile country, whose towns he did not venture to attack. He passed on to Rome, while behind his back was formed a league of the Lombard cities, including several formerly on his side, now all united to preserve their liberties. For patron of this league they took Pope Alexander III, who had no good will towards municipal liberty at Rome, but common opposition to the emperor made a bond between him and the Lombards, and even the mutinous Romans welcomed this Pope back from exile as a defender against the foreign power.

Frederick's business at Rome was to install a new anti-Pope, Paschal, whom he would have forced on the Church, and sent him on ahead escorted by an army under a German archbishop. Again broke out the unedifying strife that usually marked an imperial visit to the sacred capital. The troops occupied the Leonine city, took St. Peter's by storm, nearly burning down the Vatican in the attack, and held that side of the Tiber, while Pope Alexander kept the Lateran, but presently fled from a scene of fire and blood, amid which Frederick thought well to have himself and the empress recrowned by his own Pope. The Romans were overawed or tempted into submission, and the emperor's power stood unresisted, when suddenly it seemed struck as if by the hand of heaven. A pestilence broke out among his army, withering it in a few weeks with what was taken for a judgment on the assailant of the Church, so that many of the survivors felt moved to lifelong repentance in monkhood. Most of his soldiers dead, sick, or deserting him, Frederick fell back to Pavia, to find himself defied by the Lombard League, that had been busily helping the Milanese to rebuild their walls. His march was persecuted by a pitiless sun, which still shot darts of fever, striking down man after man on the hot earth to gasp out their lives in longing for the forests and streams of the north.

Two thousand died on the way to Pavia, and the emperor's baggage was lost.

It is said that his own conscience was stirred by remorse when he passed the ruin of Tortona, destroyed by his hands at the opening of a hopeful career. But at Pavia he showed himself so ill schooled by adversity that his harshness began to alienate even that faithful city. Other cities displaying a more openly hostile temper against him, he made off towards Germany in furtive weakness. Through the winter he slunk from castle to castle in the Alps, barred against him by frost; then, as soon as the passes were open, he fled by Susa towards Burgundy, dragging with him a train of hostages whom he hung one by one to trees along the roadside by way of delaying or deterring pursuit. The people of Susa were so infuriated by such cruelty that they set the rest of the hostages free and attacked the emperor in his quarters, who was fain to fly in disguise of a servant, and thus in a miserable plight came over the mountains into Burgundy. This was part of his more secure dominion; though not till near the end of his life did he add to his silver, iron, and golden crowns that of a kingdom or duchy which like quicksilver kept shifting its position and status throughout the Middle Ages. In Burgundy, Frederick was in a manner at home, since he had married a Burgundian princess, Beatrix, the faithful companion of his perilous life.

For five years now the emperor remained absent in Germany, where his masterful rule was better appreciated, though here too he had in turn to put down discontented vassals. In his absence the Lombard League strengthened and increased itself, preparing for the struggle that might be expected sooner or later. The Milanese were restored to their city, again holding up its head as champion of independence. As well as in rebuilding Milan, the confederates joined in peopling a new city to bar the emperor's way from Savoy. Named Alessandria, in honour of Pope Alexander, this afterwards became a formidable modern fortress. Frederick's partisans could not prevent those acts of defiance, which he looked on askance from a distance, till, A.D. 1174, he was able to come back to Italy in force.

He made haste to besiege Alessandria, which held out stubbornly behind earthen ramparts, and was well defended by a wet autumn season flooding the marshy soil on which the heavy German soldiers floundered wearily, and could find no firm ground to plant their engines. When the siege had lasted all through the winter, and relief was approaching from the allies, Frederick let himself be provoked into adding treachery to cruelty. In Holy Week he professed to suspend hostilities from Good Friday till Easter Monday; then, during this truce, he sent a band of soldiers through a subterranean passage which had been dug under the walls of the fortress. But the defenders were not so much off their guard as he anticipated, so they both foiled this attempt at surprise and returned it by a successful sally. The discomfited emperor hastily raised the siege, and marched for Pavia, on the way passing the confederate army, that shrank from

a pitched battle with its liege lord: negotiations ended in a truce during which each party disbanded forces hard to keep together.

Frederick took up his quarters at Pavia, there to hold idle conferences with the Communes and with the Pope. The only body of Germans left with him were led by Henry the Lion, head of the rival Guelph family, whose ill will to the emperor was now stimulated by religious dread of the excommunication pronounced against him. Henry secretly deserted Pavia with all his men. Frederick with his wife hurried after him to the frontier at Chiavenna. In abject entreaty the emperor knelt at his vassal's feet, begging him not to abandon them among exasperated foes; but Henry was not to be moved by his supplications nor by the tears of the empress. He passed on to Germany, where later he had to pay dearly for that desertion.

Want of courage was not among Frederick's failings. Leaving his wife at Como for safety, he slipped back to Pavia to spend the winter among waning friends and waxing enemies. His only regular forces now were those of Italian vassals like the Marquis of Montferrat; but against the burghers of Milan he was still guarded by some of the divinity that hedged a king. He was able to move among the sullen cities, for when next spring a fresh German army arrived, he met it at Como, to burst upon the Milanese territory. But the League had been preparing for this attack, and its forces quickly gathered at Milan. Some of the less ardent spirits still hesitated to meet their master in the open field, but they were overruled, and the citizen army marched out round the Carroccio of Milan, in charge, beside its usual guard, of a "Band of Death", nine hundred young men sworn not to come back unless victorious.

They had not far to go. At Legnano, in the Ticino valley, the two armies encountered, and a skirmish of advanced parties brought on a general battle, the issue of which was for a time doubtful. The charge of the heavy German horsemen crushed the Lombards' left wing, where the Brescians stood fast to be cut to pieces. The emperor pushed for the sacred Carroccio in the centre, which he had reached through its hedge of pikes, when that Band of Death rushed to the rescue, and bore back the assailants. In the heat of the medley the imperial standard went down; then Frederick, rushing to save it, was unhorsed and buried under the slain. He and his standard being missed, the Germans gave way in confusion, taking their lord's fall as a judgment against the enemy of the Church. Some fought bravely to the end; but the bulk of the army let itself be chased for miles, slaughtered or drowned in the Ticino, across which mail-clad horsemen vainly sought escape. Their losses are said to have been 8000, against 2000 of the Lombards; the rest of the invaders were scattered, flying for the Alpine passes or taking sanctuary in churches of that beautiful region they had come to subdue. Frederick's standard, treasure chest, and much other booty were brought in triumph to Milan.

It was at first supposed that the emperor had been killed, and his wife went into mourning at Como. But his body could not be found,

THE BATTLE OF LEGNANO

From the painting by Cassioli in the Academy of Arts, Florence

At Legnano the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was defeated by the Milanese and their allies (Lombard League), 1176 A.D. The picture shows the decisive stage in the conflict—the repulse of the Emperor's attack on the sacred Caroccio by the "Band of Death".

the fact being that, after getting clear of his dead horse, he had stolen off by night, and, on foot, with a few comrades, succeeded in reaching Pavia on the third day after the battle. Having appealed in vain to the ordeal of combat, he had now more luck in negotiations by which he broke up the coherence of the confederacy against him. Coming to terms also with the Normans of Sicily, he abandoned his anti-Pope, and made a separate peace with Pope Alexander, a reconciliation between them taking place next year at a meeting in Venice, when the emperor knelt before the Pope, muttering, it is said, the *salvo* "Not to thee, but to St. Peter!" The Lombard cities, rather dismayed by the Pope's readiness to drop away from them, were dealt with by promises of immunity and privilege. A truce for six years was agreed on, which in A.D. 1183 was confirmed by the peace of Constance, that, with some nominal restrictions, gave back to the cities their quarrelsome independence.

Next year, Frederick was by the Milanese and in the other cities received with demonstrations of loyalty. He showed sense and self-restraint enough to accept the new order, when indeed, by carefully setting the cities against one another, he found himself in much the same position as before he had lost some half-million of men in trying to make his power absolute. Almost his only trophy seemed the canonization of his model Charlemagne, which, dictated by him to his anti-Pope, was afterwards confirmed by the Church. And, as if to emphasize his own claim to Charlemagne's lordship of both Church and State, he added the epithet Holy to the style of the Roman Empire, on which Voltaire would satirically comment that this dignity was neither Holy, Roman, nor an Empire.

From Italy, Frederick Barbarossa was called away by a rising in Germany, which he could put down more easily. But he was not to end his days in peace. In his old age the wars of the Crusades took a new turn, under the famous Saladin, sultan of Egypt, an able and virtuous prince, whose religious zeal was not inferior to that of his Christian enemies. Against the decaying kingdom of Jerusalem he united its Moslem neighbours in an invasion that won back the Holy City to the Crescent, when the clemency of its champion could be contrasted with the cruelties of fanatical Crusaders. This news revived the Crusading spirit throughout Europe; and the emperor, as well as the kings of France and England, led a mixed multitude of warriors from all Christian lands to recover Jerusalem. That enterprise failed, partly through discords between the crafty Philip Augustus of France and our lion-hearted and hot-headed Richard. First one, then the other dropped away, while both sides exhausted themselves in vicissitudinous combats; then the death of Saladin left the Christians still seated in fortresses along the coast.

The old emperor, who in his youth had gone on the Second Crusade, would now have been first in the field, but for an accident that cut short his career of warfare. At the head of a great army he had marched as far as the mountainous edge of Cilicia, when, in bathing or swimming

across a river, perhaps taking a fit, he was carried away and drowned, a sorry end to such a stirring life. The Germans would hardly believe the news of his death, and for long lingered among them such a legend as has embalmed the memory of many popular sovereigns, as of our shadowy king Arthur: amid lords and knights, standing about him as if turned to stone, the great emperor was said to sleep enchanted in a Thuringian cave, his beard grown to his feet, some day to wake and come forth to deliver the land in its hour of need.

In this popular enshrinement his memory seems to be confused with that of his grandson, a very different personality, as much before his time as Barbarossa seems a good type of Middle Age princes. The latter had sealed his peace with the Normans of South Italy by marrying to their king's daughter his son, Henry VI, who thus at the end of the century fell heir to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, as it came to be called; and it made the seat of the second Frederick's long and troubled rule.

Frederick II, "the Wonder of the World" as Matthew Paris styles him, appears in several respects better fitted than his grandfather for the international supremacy that was the ideal of the empire. Born in Italy, half German and half Norman by parentage, king of Sicily by inheritance, king of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy by election following his claims of birth, king of Jerusalem by marriage with its heiress, he was a man to fill the eyes of Europe almost through the first half of the thirteenth century. His favourite residence was Palermo, and his choicest troops were Saracens drawn from his own Sicilian subjects. Here tolerant and there a persecutor, as policy dictated, he was an enlightened and cultured prince, while tainted by the looseness of Oriental morals, and more than suspected of unbelief; his enemies accused him of being a Mohammedan at heart, even of designing to set up a new religion of his own that might blend Christianity, Judaism, and Islam in one. By some zealots he was declared to be Anti-Christ or Lucifer, Pope Gregory IX denouncing him as a feller foe of the Church than the Saracens. Like his grandfather, he was in constant collision with the Popes of the time; yet it was his lot to become champion of the Church that had put him under an interdict. He visited Palestine, took Jerusalem, and crowned himself there without any religious consecration of this excommunicated king; but he got no credit for a crusade in which, without bloodshed, by adroit negotiation, and by taking advantage of disunion among the Saracen princes, more was secured than most crusaders won by arms. By not unreasonably giving up the Mosque of the Temple to Moslem charge, while the Christians were to keep the Holy Sepulchre, he scandalized Christendom, which had given him little backing in his enterprise; and his reward was fresh excommunication. Like Barbarossa, also, he had to fight against a league of Lombard cities, when he had firmly established himself by force at both ends of his wide dominion, in Sicily and in Germany. After a stirring life he died in A.D. 1250, under the ban of a sort of Crusade proclaimed

against him by the Pope, who ten years before had solemnly deposed this emperor at the Council of Lyons, as a counterblast to his efforts to unite all the princes of Europe against Rome's domination.

With him went the German lordship of Italy that cost the emperors so dear, when now "the German kingdom broke down under the weight of the Roman Empire". While the kings of France and England had been enhancing their power over feudal vassals, Germany was falling apart into quasi-independent principalities, slipping from the grasp of a nominal chief, who tried ineffectually to keep a footing on both sides of the Alps. Frederick II, but for his short-lived son, Conrad IV, was the last of the Hohenstaufen emperors, and the last emperor unless in name. Their succession fell into a state of abeyance and dispute, when at one time Alfonso the Wise of Castile, and Richard of Cornwall, brother of our Henry III, were rivals for the imperial title, which thus seemed to go a-begging to the two countries that, by their insular and peninsular situation, had lain outside the empire or only in its shadow. When this crown came to be again held by German princes it was only now and then they could make futile attempts to assert their power beyond the Alps. And when it was finally fixed in the Austrian line of Hapsburg it had become a mere figurehead, propped up by ceremony rather than authority over the loosened German Confederation, that in our day could be more firmly welded together under the modern power of Prussia, first raised to importance by that other Frederick called the Great.

CHAPTER VII

St. Louis (A.D. 1214–1270)

By the thirteenth century the Crusading wars, that were working such changes over Europe, appeared a sorry failure in their direct aim. A colony of Christians was settled in Palestine and Syria, as the Normans in England, but without the same result of a blending of vigorous stocks. The atmosphere of Asia proved morally as well as physically unwholesome for these settlers, recruited by adventurers from all parts of Europe who were not likely to be men of the same stamp as Godfrey led to the conquest of Jerusalem. A population of half-castes sprang up to mix with a scum of Christendom drifting to the Levant. The princes and lords who won fiefs and built castles on this foreign soil, grew degenerate in all but pride. There were constant quarrels between the chiefs, while the kingdom of Jerusalem passed from one weak hand to another. Chronic jealousy divided the two great military orders, the Hospitallers and the Templars; Italian traders carried the feuds of their mother cities to the ports of Palestine, where Genoese and Pisans came to hot fighting. But if the Moslem princes who hemmed them in could exult to see how little these Christians loved each other, the sundered powers of Islam also were kept weak by their own divisions and jealousies; and this disunion let the Christians still keep the precarious standing ground they had cleared for themselves on and behind the Syrian coast. So much had the temper of the early Crusaders been alloyed, that friendly intercourse and alliances became possible between the two creeds, whose warriors sometimes fought side by side at the call of policy or common peril.

Towards the end of the twelfth century the great Saladin succeeded in uniting the broken Caliphate under his own supremacy; then the dissensions of the Christians allowed him to sweep them back to the coast. The news that he had taken Jerusalem was a shock to Europe which raised a fresh wave of Crusading enthusiasm. Even in England was levied a "Saladin tax", when the Popes, now at the height of their spiritual power, could call on the arms of all Christian princes, and demand a tithe of their subjects' goods to resist the infidel. But that Third Crusade proved a fiasco, through its general want of co-operation and the quarrels of the French and English kings who became its leaders after the loss of Barbarossa. Our Richard raged through the land like a lion, yet went back without being able to recapture Jerusalem. Acre, however, had been taken after a long siege; and this became the practical capital of Palestine, though more than once

the Holy City was again for a moment in Christian hands, when Saladin's power had gone to pieces, divided among his family after his death in A.D. 1193.

The Fourth Crusade, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, came to be diverted into an attack upon Constantinople, where Count Baldwin of Flanders was forced upon the city as emperor; and this Latin domination maintained itself in the East for nearly two generations. From first to last the Greek emperors had shown small gratitude to the Crusaders who came as their professed champions against the Saracens, and who relieved them from the pressure of the Turks that broke up the Caliphate of Baghdad. Behind the Turks now appeared a fresh foe both to the Cross and the Crescent. From the dusty deserts of Central Asia, rose a cloud of Tartar warriors led by the renowned Genghis Khan, who, after conquering part of China, turned westward to sweep through Asia, threatening the edge of Europe like a second Attila. Indirectly his far-spread invasion affected Syria. The Charismians, a fierce Asian tribe pushed forward by the Tartars to the Euphrates, there let themselves be hired as soldiery for the Sultan of Egypt. They burst upon Palestine, taking Jerusalem with indiscriminate slaughter. Christian and Moslem neighbours marched together against a barbarous invader; but at Gaza, A.D. 1244, they were overwhelmingly defeated, the knights of the great orders being almost annihilated.

This disaster did not stir Europe like the victories of Saladin. The enthusiasm, waxing and waning for a century and a half, had now notably flagged. Going on Crusade had become a fit punishment for some vassal rebellious to his sovereign; the Church made money by absolving repentant paladins from rash vows; and the Franks in the East were fain to enlist mercenary troops for their defence. Frederick II, the last king who had undertaken such a mission, got little thanks for his half-hearted service. But when other rulers were indifferent, or had their hands too full of troubles at home, there came forward as champion of the Cross a prince in whom chivalric virtue and medieval faith seemed to flower amid their decay.

Louis IX, born A.D. 1214, was son of that Louis called in by English barons against the hated John, and grandson of the Philip Augustus whose cunning was matched against Richard's reckless courage. Under these predecessors the kings of France had been making head against their quasi-independent vassals, whose power, spent on the Crusades, began to be balanced by the rise of cities. For long the house of Capet had ruled only their own central territory of Paris and Orleans, islanded among feudal states over which they claimed an often-flouted suzerainty, such great fiefs as the duchies of Normandy, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, the counties of Flanders and Champagne, with others, sometimes owing partial allegiance to different potentates. The kings of England were the most powerful of those vassals, at one time holding all the west of France except Brittany. Philip Augustus, commissioned by the Pope to dethrone

the excommunicated John, was able to deprive him of Normandy and adjacent territory, when provincial names like Norman and Poitevin were still opposed to that of Frenchman. In the south the cruel extermination of the Albigenses profited the French crown by acquisitions in Languedoc. So, at the death of Louis VIII, after a short reign, modern France was almost equally divided between the king and his great vassals. And Philip Augustus began to make himself independent of feudal services by enlisting soldiery of his own, with the help of which at the great battle of Bouvines, on his northern frontier, he crushed the coalition formed against him by the emperor, the Flemings, and England's crafty King John, the first great victory in a struggle between Frenchman and Teuton that has lasted down to our own time.

When, as a boy on the edge of his teens, Louis IX, A.D. 1226, came to this aggrandized throne, the same policy was ably carried out by his mother, Blanche of Castile, who took upon herself the regency, and continued to dominate her son's counsels after he grew up. The great vassals leagued themselves against that masterful foreigner, and a futile attempt was made to get the king out of her hands; but she held her own against them, thanks chiefly to the want of resolution shown by her most powerful enemy Henry III of England in an ill-sustained invasion. There was no coherence among those enemies to meet the central power that could be directed to take advantage of their rivalries and jealousies; and the amalgamation of feudal lordships into a strong kingdom was henceforth but a matter of time.

The young king had been brought up in monastic austerity that might have driven some lads to revolt. But Louis in boyhood evinced a natural piety that inspired his ambition to be not the greatest but the best of kings. He took kindly to study, and still more to devotion. When he went out to hunt or fish he would be accompanied by a tutor who schooled him with whippings for which there seems to have been no need. These early dispositions were confirmed as he became his own master. To hear sermons and to attend services made his favourite recreation; and when riding he would have with him priests chanting the canonical hours by the way. Every evening he had lit in his chamber a candle three feet high, by which, so long as it continued to burn, he read the Bible or some sacred book. He had a horror of loose or profane talk; on Fridays he thought it unseemly to laugh, or to wear a hat, remembering the crown of thorns. One of his confessors has to tell with admiration how much water he always put in his wine, and how in Lent he did penance by drinking beer, which he disliked. He took two confessors, from the severe orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and they were authorized to ply on him a scourge of small iron chains by way of penance almost to the end of the king's life, till his worn-out body could no longer bear those inflictions. Both he and his mother belonged to the Tertiary Franciscan order. One of his confessors afterwards testified to the purity of the life that courted so severe discipline. To more than one such

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ST. LOUIS (LOUIS IX OF FRANCE)

From the fresco by Giotto in the Church of Santa Croce, Florence

This fresco is described at length in Ruskin's *Mornings in Florence.* S. Croce (Holy Cross) is the great Franciscan church, as S. Maria Novella (New St. Mary's) is the great Dominican church, of Florence.

record, as to the famous chronicle of his faithful and observant comrade De Joinville, Seneschal of Champagne, we owe a singularly intimate knowledge of this king's character and habits, seldom falling below the highest ideal of his age. With his great contemporary, Frederick II, he contrasts in a manner expressed by the modern distinction between the Hebraistic and the Hellenistic view of life.

Louis IX was in fact one of those gracious spirits to which the love of religion and virtue comes by nature; and he readily took the mould pressed upon him by a mother who is said to have exclaimed that she would rather see her son dead than fallen into mortal sin. All his life he kept a dutiful love and respect for that mother. He did not show the same kind of affection for his wife, Marguerite of Provence, less in sympathy with his high aims. There was ill feeling between the two ladies, and Joinville gives amusing glimpses of their strained relations, describing, for instance, how the king would come bounding upstairs from his wife's chamber to receive a visit from the stern dowager, who did not care to meet her daughter-in-law. Louis by no means remained under the thumb of a mother to whom he believed himself to owe much, but whose devotion wanted the humanity and true humility that tempered his own zeal. When come to manhood, he showed a love of justice and a charitable judgment that did not let him be a tool in the hands of women or churchmen. He had the superstitious weaknesses of his age. He persecuted Jews, usurers, and blasphemers. He lent a hand in the cruel repression of the Albigenses. He bought bogus relics from the emperor of Constantinople, received in Paris with credulous veneration, and paid for at the expense of the Jews. But his piety was practical, steadily directed to the welfare of his kingdom, as he understood it; and when popes and prelates thought to take advantage of his godly disposition, they found in him a very clear estimate of the things that were Cæsar's. He refused Frederick's imperial crown, offered him by Rome for his brother Robert of Artois. Nor, good son of Church as he was, would he give himself as instrument to punish other potentates put under its ban. But policy, patriotism, and prudence were overborne in him by the Crusading zeal that obsessed the latter part of his life.

This saint, as he came to be recognized, was no narrow-minded and cloistered bigot. His docile youth seemed to mark him as fitter for books than for war, yet he did not neglect to cultivate chivalric virtues. Tall, handsome, and practised in arms, he proved himself a leader of men, even a hero in battle. He was sociable in a somewhat grave and reserved style. Hard on himself, he could make allowance for others of less austere temper. His strictness of life seems to have imposed respect on those around him, even on his more worldly minded brothers, who little relished the severe manners of his court.[1] All having to do

[1] Joinville has an amusing anecdote of how, on the voyage from Egypt to Acre, the sick king heard that his brother Charles was playing "tables"—a kind of backgammon—with Lord Walter of Nemours. Indignant that they should be gambling when so lately delivered from calamity, Louis staggered across the deck to fling dice and tables into the sea; then while he was rebuking his brother, Lord Walter took the chance to pocket the stakes.

with him could not but own the genuineness of a piety far above that of common men; yet we get hints of how eyes were winked and shoulders shrugged over the ways of such an uncommon king, who on occasion showed a right royal temper to overawe secret grumblings.

Those three brothers, Robert of Artois, Alphonse of Poitiers, and Charles of Anjou, must have been a trouble to him in more ways than one. Their father had counteracted the process of amalgamation by leaving them appanages that set up three more possible centres of rebellion. Robert seems to have been a rash and foolish youth, not likely to win loyalty. Charles was the future tyrant of Sicily. When it came to investing Alphonse with his lordship of Poitiers, he acquired thus a most unwilling vassal in the Count de la Marche, who had married the widow of our John. This ex-queen, obliged to entertain the French court in one of her husband's castles, took offence at not being asked to sit down beside her unwelcome guests, and, when they had gone, showed her spite by destroying all the furniture they had used, as if polluted by their sojourn. The husband needed little stirring up to make him renounce the homage he owed to that young prince, whose heritage was claimed by the count's stepson Richard of Cornwall. A league of mutinous barons on that side of France was backed by England, and Henry III again led a small force into France. Louis took the field in person, defeated the allies, and drove the English king into Bordeaux, where he was cut off from reinforcements through the prowess of a French fleet. Henry had already fallen out with his stepfather, the Count de la Marche, who now not only made his peace with the French crown, but gave it his aid against the English and the rebels in the south. Henry, deserted by most of the lords who had called him over, was fain to agree to a five years' truce, Louis considerately declaring that such vassals as had come to owe homage both to France and England might henceforth choose which of these masters they would serve.

Crippled indeed by an outbreak of pestilence in his army, that brought himself near death, Louis did not push these advantages. Now as always he showed concern for the rights of his vassals as for the power of the crown. The policy of his predecessors had been to rule by dividing the contentious interests opposed to their own: this king, on the contrary, laboured for reconcilement and union among the quarrelsome feudal lords; then respect for his motives did more to consolidate France than force or fraud. One stroke of peaceful policy was marrying his brother Charles to the heiress of Provence, by which the feudal kingdom would soon be extended to the south. Having thus by A.D. 1244 made himself master at home, he was free to prepare for the great enterprise abroad to which he had devoted himself during his illness, when, on coming out of a death-like swoon, the first words he uttered were a desire to "take the cross", as pledge of setting out against the infidel.

This intention filled the court with dismay; even the zealous queen-mother was out of sympathy with Crusading; but when pressed

to renounce his vow, as made in the delirium of fever, Louis answered all remonstrances by renewing it publicly and solemnly. Soon afterwards his resolution was confirmed by news of the disastrous defeat at Gaza that seemed the ruin of the Christian power in Palestine, while the terrible Tartars spread their devastations into Poland and Hungary, where presently they were brought to a check by the forces of the empire.

Four years had to pass in elaborate preparations that filled the Syrian colonies with joyful hope, but were far from being heartily welcomed in France. Barons and knights, who could not well refuse to follow their king in a sacred war, would rather have stayed at home; and Louis had to bring the pressure of his enthusiasm to bear upon many unwilling recruits. He is even accused of a pious trick upon some of his household to whom it was the custom at Christmas to distribute "liveries": Matthew Paris states that, having to put on these new clothes in the dark, the wearers perceived at sunrise how they bore in gold thread the badge of the Cross that bound them to be Crusaders; then they durst not throw off a garment which to some of them was a very shirt of Nessus, while others more or less good-humouredly gave in to the king's zeal as a "hunter of pilgrims and a fisher of men". Even priests no longer hailed the proposal of a Crusade, for which they were heavily taxed by consent of the Pope. The popes themselves had of late proved lukewarm in the Crusading cause, willing to turn its arms rather against that disobedient Frederick II; but Innocent IV, for the moment exiled in France, gave this champion his official blessing, and promised his influence to safeguard the king's dominions while left exposed to ill neighbours.

In spite of all opposition, Louis held to his purpose. An enormous fleet was gathered, funds were accumulated, and great stores of provisions sent on ahead. Volunteers came in from other countries, from England Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and William Long-Sword, Earl of Salisbury. The king of Norway took the Cross, and was offered the command of the fleet, but hung back from carrying out his vow. The bulk of the expedition were Frenchmen; and, what was well, it included most of the powerful vassals that might be expected to give trouble when the king's back was turned, among them Peter Mauclerc, Count of Brittany, who had been a leader of opposition to the crown. Louis left his mother as regent, to keep the peace of the kingdom. His wife was to share the perils of the enterprise.

All seeming ready in the summer of 1248, the king set out, walking barefoot through Paris, and slowly traversing France, often on foot as became a pilgrim, with diversions to holy shrines by the way. Having received the Pope's blessing at Lyons, he went on to Aigues Mortes, an unhealthy port of the Rhone Delta, which had been formed or improved as a starting-point for the expedition; and thence he sailed at the end of August. Many of his followers, however, made for other Mediterranean ports, where they arranged for the voyage at their own expense. Joinville, the chronicler of the enterprise, clubbed with a neighbour in

hiring a ship at Marseilles to hold some score of knights and the rest of their train, including chaplains and choristers, all much impressed by the experience of finding themselves on an unfamiliar element.

On the day that we entered into our ship, they opened the door of the ship and put therein all the horses we were to take oversea; and then they reclosed the door, and caulked it well, as when a cask is sunk in water, because, when the ship is on high seas, all the said door is under water. When the horses were in the ship, our master mariner called to his seamen, who stood at the prow, and said: "Are you ready?" and they answered, "Aye, sir—let the clerks and priests come forward!" As soon as these had come forward, he called to them, "Sing, for God's sake!" And they all, with one voice, chanted: "Veni Creator Spiritus". Then he cried to his seamen, "Unfurl the sails, for God's sake!" and they did so. In a short space the wind filled our sails and had borne us out of sight of land, so that we saw nought save sky and water, and every day the wind carried us further from the land where we were born. And these things I tell you, that you may understand how foolhardy is that man who dares, having other's chattels in his possession, or being in mortal sin, to place himself in such peril, seeing that, when you lie down to sleep at night on shipboard, you lie down not knowing whether, in the morning, you may find yourself at the bottom of the sea.—Joinville's *Chronicle* (Marzial's Translation).

The rendezvous was Cyprus, where in the course of the autumn the main body had assembled in safety. But some still delayed to appear, and, the season being well advanced, it was unfortunately decided to spend the winter in this Circe's island that did not now belie its old traditions of voluptuous demoralization. Venus and Bacchus played havoc with Christian chivalry; and what vigour was spared by enervating idleness went in quarrels, when it was all Louis could do to keep the Hospitallers and Templars from coming to blows. Stacks of wine barrels were piled on the shore, with mounds of wheat and barley, that on the outside sprouted into a coat of green; so there was no present want of provisions for a host that had little to do but eat and drink and sleep off their revels. Idleness and debauchery took heavy toll of life in the course of the winter thus worse than wasted. After all, these stores ran short before the winter was over. What also ran short with many of the knights was money, so that Joinville, like others, would have fared ill but for the liberality of the king, who took him into pay when the knights he led threatened to desert his empty coffers.

Louis himself had in his devotion such a charm as kept Ulysses from the power of baneful enchantment. He held his court at Nicosia, the capital of the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, and there received embassies from various potentates, among them the Tartar Khan, who offered to help him in clearing Palestine of the Saracens. *Non tali auxilio*, might well have been the orthodox king's answer; but he seems to have persuaded himself that these heathen showed dispositions towards Christianity, and he sent them a monkish mission bearing a present of a scarlet tent furnished with images and emblems of the faith for their

enlightenment. Those missionary ambassadors took a year to reach the Tartar court, where they got no satisfaction, bringing back a demand for tribute instead of instruction.

Another evil of this delay was that many of the hired ships, discharged from their contract, had gone home; then worldly-minded Italian traders took advantage of the position to charge exorbitant prices for transport, and it was not till May of next year that could be assembled 1800 vessels of all sizes and rigs to embark an army which after its losses from disease still amounted to some 50,000 men, nearly 3000 of them knights, with 5000 archers or crossbowmen who would do good service. The aim of the expedition was not Palestine, this time, but Egypt, now the chief seat of Moslem power, which the king designed to turn into an outpost of Christendom that might permanently hold the infidels in check; and for the establishment of this colony he carried a large store of ploughs, harrows, and other agricultural implements, with no doubt a contingent of "villains" and such humble craftsmen as do not make much figure in the records of chivalric war. A former Crusade, a generation back, had also been directed against Egypt.

All being at last ready, the great fleet set sail at Whitsuntide, when Joinville saw the whole sea covered with its canvas. But soon a storm arose that scattered this armada far and wide, so it was with less than half his forces that the king came in sight of Damietta at the eastern mouth of the Nile Delta, having been blown aside from a choice of landing at Alexandria.[1] On the shore appeared an imposing array of the sultan's troops, whose clanging music defied the invaders. The dispirited and seasick knights had little stomach for coming at once to close quarters with these outlandish warriors; but the king's ardour would brook no delay. Next morning, after a curtailed mass, the landing was made in flat-bottomed boats, Louis sword in hand leaping into the water up to his armpits to wade on shore. The Saracens made hostile demonstrations, but after all drew off into the city, leaving the Crusaders to encamp upon the shore, won with scarcely any loss, unless by accidental drowning.

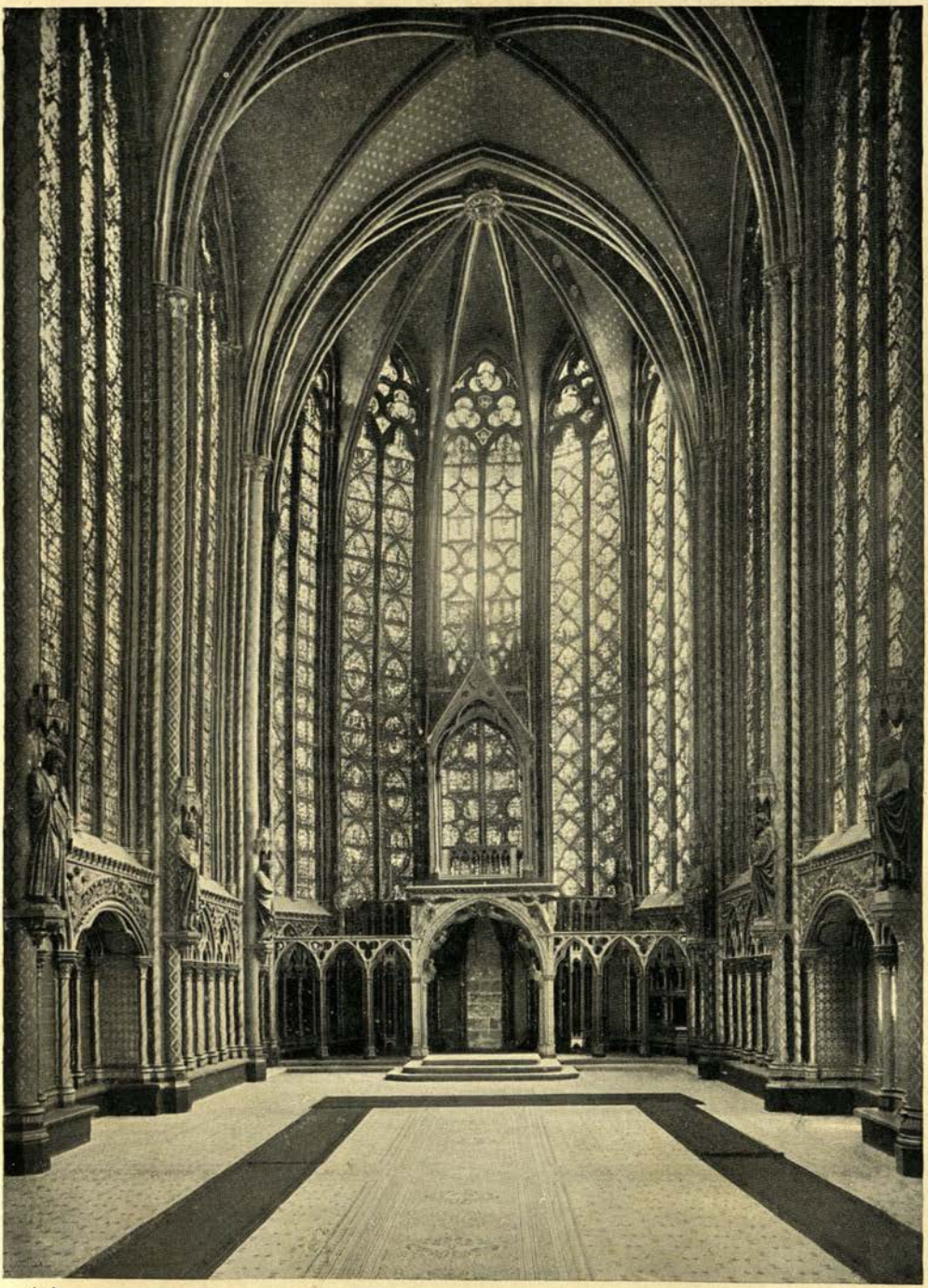
Some unaccountable panic appears to have seized their enemy,

[1] A letter from one of the Crusaders to his brother at Paris describes a contemporary sea fight before the landing. "The people of Damietta, struck aghast and frightened, sent out to us four of their best galleys with their most nimble pirates, to explore and find out who we were, and what were our intentions. When we saw them come near enough to distinguish our vessels, they hesitated, and ceased to move so fast as before, as if, having obtained the desired information, they wished to get safe away. But our galleys, meanwhile, with the fast boats, got behind them and hemmed them in, so that they were compelled, however unwilling, to approach our ships. But our men, seeing the firmness and unwavering resolution of our lord the king, prepared themselves at his bidding for a sea fight; his orders were to seize these and some others if they should come on, and then boldly occupying the shore, to effect a landing thereon. We therefore shot against them fiery darts and stones from our sea mangonels, which were prepared to cast five or six stones together from a great distance; and we threw small bottles full of lime, made to be shot from a bow, or small sticks like arrows, against the enemies. Our darts therefore pierced the bodies of their pirates and their stuff, whilst the stones crushed them, and the lime, flying out of the broken bottles, blinded them. Three of their galleys therefore were at once destroyed, and some of the pirates we saved from being drowned, and made prisoners. The fourth galley made its escape, but not without receiving some damage. The men whom we took were put to exquisite tortures, and made to confess the truth; namely, that Damietta was left empty of its inhabitants, and that we were expected at Alexandria."

that through the night abandoned the then important and well-fortified city of Damietta, into which the Crusaders burst next day with an absence of opposition they hailed as miraculous, Christian slaves thus set free alone coming to welcome them. The first thing the king did was to offer thanksgiving in the chief mosque, turned into a church. The mass of his followers were more concerned with the booty, which was great even though the Saracens had taken care to set fire to the bazaar, while they did not destroy the bridge of boats. Louis gave offence by seeking to economize the captured stores of provisions, which his followers wasted in gluttony; then vicious indulgence bred fresh quarrels among them. The English knights, mocked by French comrades with a coarse joke of their having tails as divine punishment for the murder of Thomas à Becket, were also robbed of their share of the spoil, and resentfully sailed away for Acre; but their leader, the Earl of Salisbury, was won back by the king's earnest persuasions. According to Matthew Paris, it was Salisbury's enterprising prowess that provoked a jealousy specially evinced by the Count d'Artois, to the sore grief of his brother.

Breeding disease, and tormented by the stinging plagues of Egypt, the army lay idle here, awaiting the reassembly of its storm-scattered forces and the arrival of the Count de Poitiers, who was to bring a rear contingent from France. There was division in their counsels. Some were for first mastering Alexandria as a base of operations; but the king was persuaded by his hot-headed brother, the Count d'Artois, to "crush the serpent's head" in attacking Cairo, which the Crusaders dubbed Babylon. For months they made no advance. It seemed best to wait till the heat of midsummer had passed, and the flood of the Nile should have subsided. Meanwhile the rallied Saracens hung about Damietta, provoking chivalric rashness to isolated combats which the king in vain forbade, while the sultan offered a golden besant for every Christian head. Night after night stealthy Arabs crept into the camp to kill sleepers, so that it had to be enclosed in earthworks, watched by a strong guard.

Napoleon, after his own experience, judged that Louis might have reached Cairo in less than three weeks had he pushed his first advantage, before the rising of the Nile and the recovery of the Saracens from their dismay. But, landing in June, it was not till November that the Crusaders set forth up the river, attended by a fleet of victualling ships. Then, in a country cut up by the canals and river arms of the Delta, their progress was so slow that they took a month in marching fifty miles or so above Damietta, where the town of Mansoura lay behind a branch of the Nile here uniting with the main stream. At the same point a previous crusade, thirty years before, had met with disaster; and now Louis's army came to a stand for several weeks, spent in trying to throw a causeway across the smaller river. In this work they were hindered by the Saracen artillery throwing stones, darts, and the withering Greek fire that burned the engines and moving towers of the assailants, who had to entrench their own



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INTERIOR OF LA SAINTE-CHAPELLE, PARIS

The Sainte-Chapelle, one of the most perfect specimens of Gothic art, was erected (1245–8) in order to receive the crown of thorns and other relics (now at Notre Dame) which St. Louis purchased from the Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II. The interior is richly decorated, and the lofty windows contain magnificent stained glass, framed in beautiful tracery. The building was restored by Napoleon III, at a cost of £50,000, but narrowly escaped destruction by fire in 1871.

camp against harassing attacks from a numerous army gathered at Mansoura to meet them. When much time and labour had been wasted, a Bedouin undertook, for 500 besants, to show a ford on the branch, which was found carelessly guarded; then with some difficulty the mailed horsemen, having to swim for it in the middle, floundered across to gain the slippery bank, where at last the dawn of Shrove Tuesday brought them to close quarters with their foe.

The advance was to have been led by the experienced Templars, but Robert of Artois pushed to the front with scornful mockery of their caution. When the Saracen outposts fled he was for following them up to Mansoura, expecting it to fall as easily as Damietta. "We will go with you, but we shall not come back," too truly said the Master of the Temple; and to that well-worn sneer about the "tailed Englishman", William Long-Sword answered hotly: "We shall soon be where you will not dare come near the tail of my horse!" Piqued out of prudence, they all dashed on for the town with that rash prince, pressing after the fugitives and charging through the streets. Thus they were broken up when the Saracens rallied to press them back into narrow and tortuous lanes, where they could be overwhelmed by missiles and beams hurled down from above, or had to shut themselves up in the houses for a desperate defence. Half the whole body were killed thus, 300 English knights and nearly as many Templars, with d'Artois himself, whose fault was not want of courage. Not till later in the day did Louis learn that his brother was "in Paradise"; for some time after crossing the river he had been at a loss to know what had become of his entrapped vanguard.

Its destruction roused the Saracens from the first panic of their surprise; and the main body soon found itself hotly attacked. The two armies closed in a hand-to-hand medley, where the chivalry of France did itself justice. "It was a battle of mace and sword", says Joinville, who tells us how the king bore himself like a good knight, his gilded helmet shining above the heads of his people. At one time six Turks caught his bridle to lead him prisoner, but he freed himself by doughty swordsmanship. Many another gallant act of prowess filled that confused field, the description of which reads like one of the combats of chivalrous romance. The king, at last hearing of his brother as holding out in a house at Mansoura, tried to go to his relief, but was driven back. By advice of his councillors he moved towards the river, the men being overcome by heat and thirst. Here they came into touch with the reserve on the other side, that had contrived to bridge over the stream from the incomplete causeway, or at least could bring crossbows to bear so effectually as to check the Saracen onset. Meanwhile Joinville, after some narrow escapes, was defending a bridge over a streamlet that protected the king's flank; and, assailed by Greek fire, darts, and charges of cavalry, he held his ground till relieved by a party of crossbowmen. "We shall talk of this day yet in ladies' chambers!" his comrade, Count de Soissons, cheered him in the heat of the fray. But many

of their following never saw another day; and among these victims, notes the pious chronicler, were half a dozen knights whom the evening before he had to rebuke for irreverent behaviour in chapel. He also states that he could but would not record the names of many who came flying over that bridge and refused to make a stand with its defenders. He himself and his horse were between them struck by a score of arrows. In our time skulls and bones have been turned up on the field so hotly fought for.

The battle had lasted all day, when, in the evening, the Saracens fell back, leaving their camp in the hands of the enemy, who found it already being pillaged by thievish Bedouins, ready to fight for their own hands. Here the Christians took up their quarters about the "engines" that had harassed them across the river. But through the night they were attacked in the camp, which they had to fortify against fresh assaults, joining it also to the other bank by a bridge of boats. Their dubious victory had cost them many dead and severely wounded, while the Saracens still swarmed about them in gathering numbers, apparently not disheartened by defeat, nor by the recent death of their Sultan and of the Emir commanding the army, who had been killed in the first day's battle. They seem also to have been encouraged by mistaking the heraldic bearings of the Count d'Artois for those of the king, who was given out as slain. At one point in the battle they had been so sure of victory as to send the good news by carrier pigeons that kept up their communication with Cairo.

On the Friday of the same week the Saracens brought on another engagement, in which again the Christians had been almost overwhelmed by the fanatical desperation of their foe, and by the terrors of Greek fire that burned the crupper of the king's horse when he charged to the aid of his brother Charles, borne down in the press. The Count of Poitiers would have been captured but for less chivalric rescue at the hands of butchers and camp followers, who fell upon his assailants. Joinville, like others, had been so severely wounded in the first battle that now he could not bear his armour; it was as well for him, then, that this time he had a less assailed post. Where the remnant of the Templars had stood, he saw a space as large "as a journeyman's labour" so thickly strewn with darts that they quite hid the earth. The crossbows of Europe, however, did more execution; and again, after prodigies of valour on both sides, Louis could give thanks for a victory.

But two such victories, that still had not cleared his front of the enemy, were rather like a defeat. His army had lost heavily in men and horses, their bodies covering the river and poisoning the air, so as to breed pestilence among the survivors. The piety of the Crusaders is accused of fatal results: forbearing meat in Lent, they ate eels or other fish gorged on corpses. At all events scurvy and dysentery broke out among them, with revolting symptoms detailed by Joinville; and Louis was one of the first victims. Soon they were

threatened with starvation, for the Saracens, having dragged ships by camels overland to launch them below Mansoura, cut off supplies of provisions coming up the Nile, so that, when Easter came to end the Christian fast, meat was at famine prices, and those that had horses left were fain to butcher them. By this time only 6000 men were fit for service, of 30,000 that had left Damietta. Many of the lower ranks seem to have deserted to the enemy, buying life at the cost of their faith. So far from moving forward, there seemed nothing for it but retreat.

The new Sultan had now arrived to head his unshaken army, with whom Louis was fain to enter into negotiations; but the wily Oriental, seeing how heat and pestilence fought for him, would listen to no terms but the surrender of the king as hostage for Damietta being restored. Early in April the retreat was begun by crossing the river, those who could marching on foot, or riding if they could get a horse, while the sick were embarked on the Nile. The king was now so weakened by dysentery that his lords begged him to go on board a ship; but he thought it his duty to stay by his soldiers, and even to accompany the rearguard, instead of hurrying off in advance like Napoleon in that other disastrous retreat of a French army. But if Napoleon did not vie with St. Louis in generous devotion, he would probably have been better obeyed in an order to destroy the bridge of boats at Mansoura, left for the enemy's use, by which Mamelukes and Arabs soon pressed across to swarm like mosquitoes about the sickly and despairing remnant of the invaders.

The miseries of that hot retreat were sooner brought to a head than the sufferings of Napoleon's host in the snows of Russia. The dwindled army, attacked both in front and rear, was broken and cut to pieces. Before he had gone a dozen miles, Louis, fainting again and again, was left with a single attendant, who for some time keeping the Saracens off him as "flies from a cup" brought him safe to a little village. There, carried into a house, he lay for dying in the lap of a Frenchwoman, and in that state sent a messenger to propose a truce. Then one of the panic-stricken soldiers cried out that the king had ordered to lay down their arms, and the rearguard surrendered to the Saracens, who would no longer speak of truce. The prisoners, the king among them, were taken back to Mansoura.

Those on shipboard fared no better. The north wind that during a great part of the year favours the upward voyage on the Nile now sprang up to counteract the current, out of which Joinville's ship drifted into a creek. The way was barred by the sultan's galleys, volleying darts and Greek fire; and on the banks appeared bands of horsemen hovering like vultures about foes that would soon fall a prey. Some light vessels full of armed men appointed to guard the floating hospitals tried to save themselves by flight; the others were helpless. Joinville, hardly able to stand, had to draw his sword upon the sailors, who would have let his ship go on shore; on consideration, he judged better to surrender to the sultan's galleys than

to the Arabs, who might strip their prisoners and sell them for slaves. Throwing into the Nile his jewels and relics, he gave himself up to the exulting enemy, and might have been slain forthwith but for someone declaring that he was the king's cousin. The Saracen leaders seem to have exerted themselves to protect men of rank; but the common people were butchered or thrown into the water, unless they could redeem themselves by offering to turn Turk. The massacre was renewed in cold blood, many of the sick being got rid of when the survivors were landed at Mansoura to join their captive comrades, whom Joinville counts as more than 10,000.

Their anxious perils were not yet over. Throughout all, the king bore himself royally on what seemed like to be his deathbed, even though threatened with torture when he refused to deliver up the fortresses of Palestine, as belonging not to himself but to Christendom. He offered as his ransom Damietta, with 1,000,000 of gold besants, calculated at about £400,000. Negotiations being in train, the principal captives had been taken down the river in galleys to the Sultan's camp, where Louis was set on shore to discuss the terms of his release. But now came about a revolution that put their lives in fresh danger. The Sultan was murdered by a mutinous faction of his army, when Joinville declares that the Emirs had been so much impressed by the Christian king's steadfastness in adversity that they had a mind to offer him the Caliphate. Armed men rushed on board the galleys, menacing the prisoners with death, but did no more to Joinville's company than cram them down into the hold, then after a night of miserable suspense they were brought out, when the Saracen leaders showed themselves willing to continue the negotiations for ransom. These concerned only the prisoners of rank, the rest being killed or carried off into slavery, unless they consented to deny their faith. One Moslem visiting Louis with presents confessed that he had been born a Christian, whereon the pious king bid him out of his sight. By this time the population of Egypt and Syria must have been blended with no small number of renegades from Europe. We hear even of knights who, quarrelling with their leaders or their comrades, were not ashamed to go over to the Prophet.

Amid repeated scenes of slaughter the Christian captives hardly understood what a revolution was being worked in Egypt, where the power of the degenerate caliphs now came to be seized by their bodyguard of slaves, the renowned Mamelukes, who kept this mastery till crushed by a massacre in 1811, under Mehemet Ali, founder of the present dynasty. For the moment, however, authority at Cairo seems to have passed into the hands of a favourite slave of the penultimate Sultan's harem, who, by concealing his death, had been able to govern in his name till the arrival of his son, and now again came forward to control the bloodthirsty zeal of the Mamelukes. On the other side, also, a woman was in command, the French queen, who, while recovering from the pangs of childbirth in Damietta, had to exert herself to provide her husband's ransom and to hold together the dismayed

ST. LOUIS A PRISONER IN THE HANDS OF THE SARACENS. From the mural painting by Alexandre Cabanel in the Panthéon at Paris.

The scene depicted by Cabanel is an incident in the Seventh Crusade. St. Louis, King of France, after capturing Damietta, was completely defeated and taken prisoner. The Egyptian Sultan had undertaken to release him in return for a heavy ransom and the surrender of Damietta, but was murdered by his enemies before the release was completed. The picture shows the captive crusading king, a prisoner in his tent, receiving the leaders of the emirs, one of whom, kneeling, is presenting to him the arms of the murdered Sultan. Beside the king is the aged Patriarch of Jerusalem, and behind him is the Sire de Joinville, his biographer.

Alexandre Cabanel, born at Montpellier in 1823, died at Paris in 1889. He was trained in the classical school of David, but broke away from it in his later work. He was latterly Professor in the École des Beaux-Arts. This picture is one of three great mural paintings in the Panthéon at Paris, representing scenes from the life of St. Louis, which he executed in his later years.

(35)

ST. LOUIS A PRISONER — CABANEL

garrison. At her request an old knight had promised to kill her before she became captive to such a foe, even as, in our Indian mutiny, husbands vowed to shoot their own wives if there should be no other escape from dishonour.

The government put in power by the Mameluke revolt came to terms with its royal captive, solemn oaths being taken on either side for payment of the ransom, which the queen could not collect at once. Presently she sailed off for Acre; and the prisoners were brought down to the harbour, where their shipping awaited them. Damietta being surrendered, some of the "Saracen knights" got drunk on the wine they found there, then atoned for this infraction of their law by shedding Christian blood in an orgy of pillage and destruction. A fresh movement of fanaticism in the army again threatened a general massacre, and the galleys carrying the captives were turned back; but milder counsels prevailed to let them embark. The king would not set sail till the first instalment of the ransom had been paid, for which his brother Alphonse was left in pledge, Louis showing himself most scrupulous as to the money being fairly counted out, after being hardly scraped together. The Saracens were less honourable, who murdered the sick in Damietta, and destroyed the king's stores and engines, in spite of their covenant.

Thus, in May, A.D. 1250, the wretched remnant of the Crusaders left the shores of Egypt, where such plagues had fallen upon them. Some of the barons made off homewards without more ado; but the king stood for Acre, suffering and disaster not having quenched his zeal to shield the Holy Land. In vain the majority pressed him to return to France, and his mother, the regent, would also have recalled him. He sent back his two brothers; but, to the disgust of those who durst not quit his banner, he stayed in the East, moved chiefly by hope of redeeming the large number of common people he had left captive in Egypt at sore risk of their lives or their faith.

Four years Louis remained in Syria, negotiating, fortifying the Christian strongholds, and labouring in all ways to repair the wreck of the Crusaders' cause. He was joined by some recruits from Europe, among them a belated band of Norwegian knights; many of the English nobles, before his failure was fully known, had been ready to go to his assistance, but were held back by king Henry III. One of the embassies now received by Louis was from the Emperor of Trebizond, a Christian power founded during the Crusades on the shores of the Black Sea. Another came from that mysterious potentate, the "Old Man of the Mountain", ruler of a Moslem heretical body, murderous Thugs in practice, who, from the *hashish* (Indian hemp) with which they drugged themselves, have given us the word *Assassin*, and are said to be still represented by the Druses of the Lebanon. With their chief Louis interchanged presents, but was disappointed in hopes of the Old Man's conversion. A more pregnant negotiation was with the Mameluke government of Egypt, his late enemy, who treated with the king about an alliance that would enable him to

reconquer Jerusalem from the ruler of Damascus. But nothing came of that beyond the giving up of some Christian captives and corpses, along with the present of an elephant sent to be a wonder in France, where it may have proved a white elephant, for two or three years later we first hear of an elephant coming to England—unless in the train of Roman soldiery—as a present from the French king. Louis might have got leave to visit Jerusalem as a pilgrim, but, on the example of our Richard, he denied himself a sight of the shrines he could not deliver.

There was much to call him back to France, which the news of his losses had filled with mourning, and cast indeed a gloomy shade over Europe. "The beauty of woman was changed; garlands of flowers were thrown away; songs were suspended; musical instruments were forbidden; every enjoyment was changed into lamentation; and, what was worse, people accused the Lord of injustice; and, raving in bitterness of their grief, broke forth into words of blasphemy." The last generation's wave of orthodox enthusiasm seemed falling into a trough of heretical misbelief. As in the early Crusading days, a movement of popular fanaticism, engendered in Flanders, gathered a vast mob of countryfolk, known as the *Pastoureaux*, led by a so-called Hungarian, whom Matthew Paris accuses of being an apostate and having the secret design of luring his followers into the hands of the infidel. Swollen by outlaws and losels, this host swept through Paris 100,000 strong, professing to be bound for the Holy Land; but their excitement turned to pillage and sacrilege before it could be dispersed by force, hunted down "like mad dogs". Some few of them are said to have reached Palestine and joined Louis. To add to the dangers of the kingdom, the truce made with England now expired; and Henry III, while he talked of Crusading, seemed more disposed to take advantage of his neighbour's absence. The French nobles showed themselves out of sympathy with their distant master's desire for peace at home. Open war broke out in Flanders. What could not but move Louis to return was the death of his mother, the regent, at the end of A.D. 1252, news so overwhelming to him that Joinville relates how he sat speechless for two days. His brothers meanwhile were selfishly attending to their own aggrandizement at home; and nothing seemed to hold France together but the respect such a king had been able to secure.

Still, it was not till the summer of A.D. 1254 that Louis went back to France, having done all he could to put Palestine in a posture of defence. The voyage was not without perils. In a fog his ship ran on a sandbank off Cyprus; but the king would not be taken off so long as the rest of her company were in danger. Set afloat, she was presently caught in a storm and driven back to Cyprus, saved, according to Joinville, by the queen's vow of a pilgrimage and the gift of a silver ship to a shrine of St. Nicholas. Again, in passing the island of Pantelaria, off Tunis, three galleys were sent to get fruit for the royal children, and when their long absence made it supposed that

they had been captured by Saracens, Louis insisted on turning back to their rescue, with the loss of a week. Their delay had been caused by nothing worse than the folly of six young Parisians, who wandered off to eat fruit in the gardens; then as a punishment the king ordered those greedy fellows to be towed astern in a barge, exposed to winds and waves for the rest of the passage. In this miserable plight they did the service of giving an alarm when a fire broke out in the queen's cabin. After six weeks of such excitements the ship safely reached Hyères, where Louis made some scruple about landing in the Provençal territory of his brother Charles, but was persuaded out of going on to Aigues-Mortes. Glad would all his following be to get on shore, had it been even in an enemy's country. The royal saint himself seems to have been the worse of the voyage, for Joinville records an outburst of pettishness against a squire who had delayed in bringing up Louis's horse when he left Hyères.

For the next fifteen years this king gave himself to the work of reformation needed at home. He laboured for peace in and about his own territories; the barons were indignant at concessions he made to Henry III, that most menacing of his vassals as Duke of Aquitaine, who was now received as a welcome guest at Paris. He acted as arbitrator between Henry and his rebellious barons, deciding in favour of the king, except as regarded the confirmation of John's Magna Charta; but the battle of Lewes reversed this decision when the barons appealed to arms. He exerted himself to put down private wars and the ordeal by duel that was such an uncertain test of right; he even frowned on the tournaments so dear to French chivalry. He held parliaments regularly, and forwarded laws the text of which has perished, but we may be sure they were meant for the weal of the kingdom. One of the legends of France is the good St. Louis sitting under an oak to administer justice; and there is clear evidence of his efforts to purge the administration of law from bribery, exactions, and oppressive officialdom. He patronized literature and the arts in the service of religion. Vast sums were now spent on building churches, abbeys, and almshouses: from this reign date many glories of French Gothic architecture, the Sainte-Chapelle, with its treasures of stained glass, the naves of Amiens and St. Denis, the chancel of Beauvais, and the finest parts of several other cathedrals. Louis was lavish also in a charity our age would condemn as indiscriminate, that raised murmurs even then. His court was attended by a mob of beggars, whom he delighted to serve with his own hand; and wherever he went he distributed royal alms among the poor, the sick, and the infirm. He set his proud lords an example of performing the meanest service to the least of Christ's people, as in the Holy Land he had with his own hands helped to bury a revolting mass of corpses. He was specially liberal to the religious orders that now multiplied over Europe. His own zeal for pious observances was as unflagging as his care to choose worthy pastors of the people. Before going to bed he would have his children brought to him, that he might

tell them moral stories of good and bad kings; but no example could have been more impressive than his own daily life.

France looks back upon that pious reign as a breathing time among the turmoils of its middle-age history. But the king's conscience was not at rest so long as the Holy Places of the East remained in infidel hands. It was noted that he never wore rich attire after his return from that luckless Crusade; and such outward humiliation marked his brooding over a fresh attempt. Woeful news came from Palestine, where, now that the Caliphate of Baghdad had been destroyed by the Tartars, the Mamelukes were carrying all before them: a massacre of many thousand Christians at Antioch, myriads sold into slavery. When peace and order seemed secured in France, to the dismay of his subjects Louis set about another Holy War, though now so weakly in health that he could not mount on horseback, nor even bear to be drawn in a chariot. Still more unwillingly, this time, his barons and knights made ready to follow him, as alternative to losing his favour; but there were some that flatly refused, like the faithful Joinville, who declared it his duty rather to stay at home and look after his people. The survivors of those miserable days on the Nile must indeed have had enough of Crusading to last them their lives. Even the Pope now frankly tried to hold back that dauntless champion of the Church. Several kings took the Cross, who yet were not over eager to risk their persons in an enterprise beginning to be held as hopeless.

But the most Christian king was not to be moved from his purpose, preparations for which took three years. Yet that consecrated obstinacy let itself be bent by his gloomily ambitious brother, Charles of Anjou, who meanwhile had become king of Sicily and was scheming for himself further acquisitions on the coast of Africa. He persuaded Louis that the very sight of a Christian army would convert the Sultan of Tunis, that its cities would make fair prize for Christendom, and that the conquest of this country would be a doughty blow at the power of Egypt. In his exaltation Louis seems to have lost all discretion. When, in the summer of A.D. 1270, the expedition sailed from Aigues-Mortes on a Genoese fleet, the king amazed his followers by steering for Tunis, to whose ruler he had sent a message that he would gladly lie in prison the rest of his life if the sultan and his people might be won to the true faith. The pillage of his capital was a bait that appealed more strongly to the common herd of Crusaders.

There was already much sickness on board when the fleet anchored off Tunis. Landing without opposition, the army went on to take a small fortress that now stood for ruined Carthage. Its Saracen garrison was butchered, their corpses infesting the castle in which Louis would have taken up his quarters. Here he waited for the arrival of his brother from Sicily, while about him gathered on all sides a host of fanatical Moslems, who soon began to harass the Christian camp. But the fiercest enemy was the July sun of Africa, with its deadly allies. The wells had been choked or infected; wholesome food failed as well as

fresh water; and this climate made a hotbed for such spread of fever and dysentery as often prostrated a medieval army, with its utter neglect of sanitation. A very pestilence soon broke out, fed by the corruption of its hastily buried victims. In a week the camp was turned into a hospital. Among the first died the king's darling son, Tristram, so named for his sorrowful birth at Damietta, and his daughter the queen of Navarre; his three sons had accompanied him to win their spurs in a sacred quest. Then Louis himself and his heir were struck down. The dauphin recovered; but the sickly king felt the hand of death upon him, when he had himself laid on a bed of ashes, for an agony in which he murmured prayers and psalms till he lost consciousness, passing away just as Charles of Anjou arrived too late for a last word from the brother misled by him to such an end.

For some days back, Louis seems to have given himself up; and now he is believed to have written for his heir those famous instructions that embody the ideal of Christian kingship, so as to become a manual for the education of princes, who, whatever they professed, more often proved ready to practise the code of Macchiavelli.

"Dear Son, if you come to reign, oblige yourself to what befits a king, that is to be firm and loyal to your people and your household, without turning to the right or left, but straight always whatever may come of it. And if a poor man have a quarrel against a rich man, uphold the poor rather than the rich till the truth be made clear, and when you know the truth, do justice between them.

"If anyone raises a quarrel against you, for injury or wrong he thinks you have done him, be always on his side and against your own before your council, without showing partiality for your interest (till the truth be known), for your councillors may fear to speak against you, as should not be your wish. And bid your judges not to favour you more than another, for thus your councillors will judge more boldly according to truth and justice.

"If you hold another's property, either by your own doing or through your predecessors', should you be sure of this, restore it at once, however much it be in land or money, or otherwise. And if there be any doubt, have diligent enquiry made by wise men. And if it be a matter of which the truth is obscure, make such settlement by advice of worthy men that your own soul and the souls of your predecessors may be fully freed. . . .

"Dear Son, I enjoin on you doing your utmost to keep out of war with any Christian, unless his wrongdoing be too great; and if anyone do you wrong, try several ways of coming by your right before fighting; and do all you can to avoid the sins which are done in warfare.

"And if it comes to war being necessary, whatever may be the cause, give orders diligently that poor and innocent folk get no loss from conflagrations or otherwise. For it becomes you better to constrain the ill-doer by the taking of his towns and castles than to ruin what belongs to the poor. And take care not to begin the war, unless your council have assured you that the cause is good, nor without having summoned the wrongdoer and given him time. If he throw himself on your mercy, forgive him, exacting such amends as God would approve.

"Dear Son, I enjoin you to settle as soon as you can all wars and all

quarrels, whether your own or your subjects'; for that is very pleasing to our Lord."

Among such counsels of perfection we may be sure there was no want of emphatic recommendation to respect religion and its ministers. Yet unconsciously Louis proved an enemy to the Church of which he was such a faithful son. His example taught his people to look away from the cloister for sanctity, and thus strengthened the hands of less devout successors when they undertook to set the throne above the altar. Mourned by all Europe, even in his lifetime he had been popularly recognized as a saint. His official canonization was set about with due form soon after his death, to be definitely proclaimed before the end of the century, then attested by miracles and legends haloing what seems an incarnation of the Crusaders' best spirit.

The death of St. Louis, A.D. 1270, was the end of his wild enterprise. Charles of Anjou tried to hold the army together for a little on African soil; but those who escaped the pestilence had no heart to meet the Saracen steel. They hastened away with their burden of royal corpses; then the selfish Charles exercised his barbarous right to plunder some returning Crusaders wrecked on the coast of his Italian territories. That miserable retreat was also a deathblow to Crusading. Our Edward I, not yet king, did at this time set out for the Holy Land, but he made less of his war with the Saracens than of fighting the Welsh and the Scots. Towards the end of the century the Mamelukes captured Acre, the last Christian stronghold on the Syrian coast. All future efforts to put the Cross in place of the Crescent were a mere blaze of straw. Yet, by arrangement with the Moslem masters of Jerusalem, pilgrimages to Jerusalem went on without much risk. Chaucer's "Wife of Bath" had been there thrice. Itineraries for the pilgrimage were brought out, one, for instance, by William Wey, Fellow of Eton College, who, in the middle of the fifteenth century, was an early Baedeker in helping tourists of the period with practical instructions as to distance, coinages, and provender by the way.

When in the fourteenth century the Venetians suggested to the Pope another Crusade, it was with the very worldly design of ruining Egypt as a commercial rival by diverting the trade of India through Persia. Here appears a hint of the modern spirit unforeseen by men like St. Louis, who little guessed what would come of their pious warfare. As well as liberty and order, commerce, both of wares and ideas, got a notable impetus from the Crusades. By them East and West were drawn together, not only in the shock of arms. One of those foes in the end held its own field of battle, from which yet the other brought back richer spoil. The West came to know the East better, and to find what it had to teach, while Islam, for its part, showed itself less able to learn from Christendom. So what began as a struggle of ignorant fanaticism on both sides, went to building up, by various means, the civilization of Europe.

CHAPTER VIII

Dante (A.D. 1265–1321)

From France we turn again to Italy. Tuscany, the heritage of the Countess Matilda, that long made a bone of contention between Pope and Emperor, became later quickened by the same birth-pangs of freedom as were now being stifled by tyranny in the Lombard cities. Here also arose trading cities, flourishing in spite of feuds without and factions within their walls. Here also the names of Pope and Emperor, of Guelf and Ghibelline, made standards for rival communities that strengthened their independence by shifting leagues and intermittent local wars. Among the Tuscan cities three stood out in the thirteenth century, Pisa, Siena, and Florence, winning for themselves a turbulent liberty when, at Milan, Otto Visconti founded a dynasty by expelling the rival line of Della Torre in the person of a Napoleon, name thus early turning up in history. The first and most fearsome of those Lombard tyrants was Ezzelino di Romagno, a puny body with an inhuman soul, who as the emperor's deputy had for a generation ruled Padua by such cruelties as made men shudder at his name; but he would have many imitators in the abuse of arbitrary power.

In the Crusading age Florence had been rising to note through its manufacture of silk and woollen goods, as by its moneylending and banking enterprise that here originated bills of exchange when coin had to be hoarded and traffic carried on at constant risk from robbers by land and sea. During the thirteenth century this little republic began to win her name as a nursery of arts and letters, and a mother of famous men. At the end of Frederick Barbarossa's career he had rewarded Florence's help to his Crusade with a gift of 10 miles of territory around her walls. Under Frederick II she was grown strong enough to head leagues against her rivals Siena and Pisa, and to chastise the robber nobles who barred her communications. Her government was through magistrates elected by an oligarchy of privileged citizens, to whom might be added a Podesta, chosen for a year from outside as impartial between the local factions. These factions in general may be distinguished as aristocratic and democratic, or Ghibelline and Guelf; but the shifting state of Italian politics, and the readiness with which the nobles here let themselves be absorbed in trading interests, led to a confusion in which sometimes the rivals seem to have exchanged weapons, like Hamlet and Laertes. So bitter was their strife as to lead to the alternate banishing of each party as the other got the upper hand. Thus, at the date of Louis IX's first Crusade, the Guelfs were driven out, but soon afterwards recovered an ascendancy

that let them in turn expel the Ghibellines. But it would be a labour of Hercules to follow all the flickering fortunes of this party strife, and the interference in wider struggles with which it was involved. Every Florentine, whatever his skill or talent, had then to be a fighting man, to whom yet a love of finer arts came as a natural heritage.

Here, probably in 1265, a family of the smaller nobles, welded into the Guelf or popular interest, produced a son named Durante Alighieri, who, under the familiar contraction *Dante*, was to be world-famous as a man of many sorrows and of masterful genius. Scholar, philosopher, theologian, politician, artist, as well as poet, he appears at once the last great mind of the Middle Ages and the first great modern author. In his most famous work, through the eyes of one who was actor as well as spectator, we may read a passionate history of pregnantly troubled times, whose true character is insisted on by J. R. Lowell.

Foreshortened as events are when we look back on them across so many ages, only the upheavals of party conflict catching the eye, while the spaces of peace between sink out of the view of history, a whole century seems like a mere wild chaos. Yet during a couple of such centuries the cathedrals of Florence, Pisa, and Siena got built; Cimabue, Giotto, Arnulfo, the Pisani, Brunelleschi, and Ghiberti gave the impulse to modern art, or brought it in some of its branches to its culminating point; modern literature took its rise; commerce became a science; and the middle class came into being. It was a time of fierce passions and sudden tragedies, of picturesque transitions and contrasts. It found Dante, shaped him by every experience that life is capable of—rank, ease, love, study, affairs, statecraft, hope, exile, hunger, dependence, despair—until he became endowed with a sense of the nothingness of this world's goods possible only to the rich, and a knowledge of man possible only to the poor.

At the time of Dante's birth Italy was receiving a new candidate for mastership. Soon after Frederick II his son and heir Conrad had died, leaving a young child, Conradin, to be brought up in Germany, while the southern kingdom was seized by Manfred, Frederick's favourite natural son, who when hardly grown to manhood proved himself able to rule. But he inherited the antagonism of the Popes, and Urban IV offered the Sicilian kingdom to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis. Thus invited, Charles invaded Italy, A.D. 1265, slew Manfred in a decisive battle, and established a stern rule over Naples and Sicily, from which he expelled the Germans and Saracens. Thus began the Angevin dynasty of Naples, whose ambitious founder aimed at further dominion on all sides.

After three years his title to the Sicilies came to be contested by Conradin, a gallant lad of sixteen, whose grasp at a crown recalls the episode of Prince Charlie in our own annals. Risking all on a great stake, he sold or pledged his Suabian heritage to raise a small army which (A.D. 1267) he led into Italy, accompanied by his friend, Frederick of Austria, two or three years older than himself. There he was welcomed by the Ghibelline cities, and by all enemies of the unloved

Charles; then for a little fortune seemed to smile on his enterprise. But, for want of money, he soon found his mercenaries deserting, so by the end of the year his force had dwindled to some 3000 men, hardly held together against a storm of Papal threats and curses, while his partisans, scattered over Italy, seemed like to be crushed by the French troops of Charles.

Luck and dash, however, favoured this chivalrous Pretender. He was joined by Henry of Castile, a Spanish soldier of fortune who had quarrelled with his patron Charles. Pushing south into Tuscany, they overthrew an experienced French general in the Apennine passes, and the king, after advancing to meet them, fell back towards Naples. Conradin marched to Rome, where he was received with joyful excitement. Good news of an insurrection in Sicily lured him on, with an army variously counted, but it seems to have outnumbered that of Charles, the strength of which lay rather in veteran discipline. When they met at Tagliacozzo, in August, A.D. 1268, the cautious tyrant gave over command to Valery, a tried comrade of St. Louis, while he himself went disguised into battle, like Ahab, another of his generals being arrayed in the royal armour and ensigns. At first the boy princes Conradin and Frederick carried all before them in an eager charge, and when they saw that sham king's body they gave themselves up to rash exultation. Spreading over the dusty plain, their soldiers fell to plundering the dead and catching the riderless horses; some even stripped off their hot trappings to bathe in the river Salto. Thus they were fallen upon by Valery when he brought up an ambushed reserve for a butchery of naked men that may have suggested Michael Angelo's famous cartoon. It was a singular battle, in which each side at one time held the other's camp; but Valery was too wary to let his men loose for pillage; and the prudent strategy of this veteran, whom Dante commemorates as fighting unarmed, carried the day, a hint how success in modern warfare hangs on the general's head rather than his hand. Henry of Castile, also, leading a wing of Spaniards and Italians, had not let them get out of control, and came back from his successful charge to find the young chiefs vainly trying to rally their Germans. Still, the French might have been beaten but for Valery's stratagem of a feigned retreat, when the Spaniards, pressing on too recklessly, were in turn thrown into confusion; and the day ended with utter rout of Conradin's army.

He and Frederick galloped off to Rome, but were now coldly welcomed by the fickle citizens. While on all sides dismayed Ghibellines fled for refuge or hastened to make their peace with the victor, the two young princes slunk along the coast in disguise, making for Pisa, where they hoped to find means of passing over to Sicily. But they fell into the hands of a Frangipani lord, one of that great family with which Dante seems to have been connected, and by him were given up to Charles, at whose hands little mercy could be expected. He hastened to celebrate his victory by atrocious cruelties, and before he glutted his vengeance over 1000 prisoners had been executed.

A court was assembled at Naples to try Conradin and Frederick, whose youthful gallantry excited general compassion. Even the Pope seems to have pleaded for these unfortunate enemies, and most of the judges were for acquitting them in spite of the king, who himself pronounced sentence of death on the rightful heir he styled a traitor. When only one of the shrinking judges was found willing to read out this sentence, the king's own son-in-law struck him dead as a reviler of lordly blood, in the presence of Charles, who did not dare to resent an indignation shared by his French champions. Valery went back to France, scorning the rewards offered him by the tyrant he had served so well out of loyalty to Louis IX. In view of a pitying crowd, and of the relentless king looking on from a window, the two princes were beheaded by the shore under the cone of Vesuvius, that has made a background for so many tragedies. On the scaffold Conradin, declaring himself unjustly condemned, flung down his glove to be carried to the king of Aragon, as gage of vengeance and token of heirship, a testament duly executed in time. Both victims met their death bravely, on a spot which the Neapolitans held to be blighted by blood and tears, as in England and elsewhere it has been told how no grass would shroud the scene of some pathetic execution. Legend makes Conradin's mother hurry across the Alps to ransom her son's life, arriving only in time to build a chapel over his grave. Superstition could not fail to note that an earthquake ruined the abbey which made the monument of Charles's gratitude on that decisive battlefield. In a wilderness of treachery, cruelty, and violence it seems an oasis to find the heart of all Europe deeply moved over the fate of that princely stripling—

Giovinetto,
Pallido, e bello, con la chioma d'oro,
Con la pupilla del color del mare,
Con un viso gentil da sventurato.[1]

Thus made master in the south, Charles went on trying to push his dominion over Italy. He secured a foothold in Greece, and nursed an ambitious hope of bringing the Eastern empire under his sway. We have seen how he diverted his brother's second crusade to help his own designs on Africa. Dante was too young to feel for the fate of Conradin, but he grew up to know the stern Frenchman as nominal lord of Tuscany, to whom the Guelfs dominant at Florence looked as their patron.

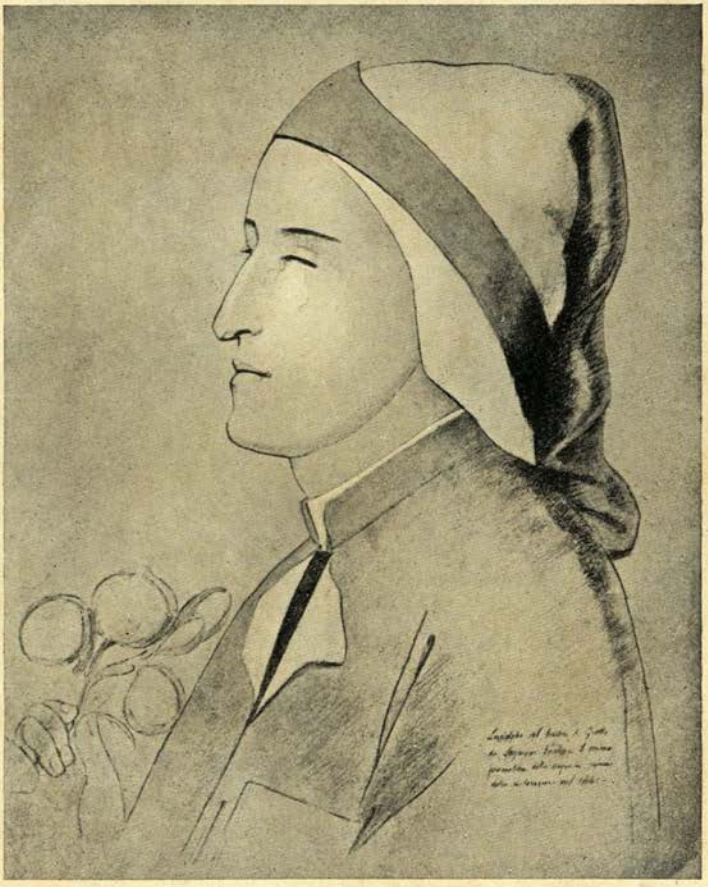
What this open-eyed young Florentine saw in those stirring years we can only guess from allusions in his writings, and these often so vague that from first to last the course of his life is full of questions for controversy. He is supposed to have had as teacher Brunetto Latini, an accomplished scholar whom for his vices he put in *Inferno*, yet had to confess "You taught me how a man becomes eternal":

[1] A youth, fair and comely, with golden hair, with eyes the colour of the sea, with the noble face of an unfortunate.

DANTE AS A YOUTH

From a tracing of the fresco in the Bargello (now the National Museum), Florence

This fresco, which has been ascribed to Giotto, was whitewashed when the building, which was once the palace of the Podestà (chief magistrate), was turned into a prison. It remained thus until 1848, when it was brought to light in an injured condition. The poet's eye was completely destroyed. The tracing here reproduced was made previous to the somewhat unsatisfactory "restoration" of the work.



DANTE IN LATER LIFE

Bronze bust in the National Museum, Naples

Said to have been modelled from a cast taken from the poet's features after death.

here, however, he may be referring to Brunetto's writings rather than to actual schoolmastership. It is clear that he had somehow the best schooling of his time; and his writings show him so well acquainted with parts of Italy, France, and the Netherlands, that either in youth or in later days he must have travelled far from home. He is thought to have studied at Padua, Bologna, Naples, Paris, and even Oxford, a wide curriculum not impossible in those days of international study. But the dim story of Dante's travels must be left to the many volumes that have been heaped upon his memory. His life could not have been all spent within city walls, so observant are his descriptions of nature; and his allusions to the flight of birds, as well as to the arsenal of Venice and the canals of Flanders, hint how he must have drunk at many a stream far from his native Arno, both in youth and in embittered later days, when in the words of his modern namesake, Dante Rossetti—

> Arriving only to depart,
> From court to court, from land to land,
> Like flame within the naked hand
> His body bore his burning heart,
> That still on Florence strove to bring
> God's fire for a burnt-offering.

Those authentic wander-years came at the end of his career, when he learned—

> How savoureth of salt
> The bread of others, and how hard a road
> The going down and up another's stairs.

The one stated fact in his youth—and even that has by some been taken for a fond dream—was the precocious affection inspired in him at the age of nine by his meeting Beatrice del Portinari, that "youngest of the angels". He does not pretend to have been intimate with her at any time, and she married a rich banker, one of the Bardi family from whom George Eliot makes her Romola descended; then she died when Dante had grown to manhood. Living or dead, he idealized, almost worshipped, her as the guardian genius of his life, which in his *Vita Nuova* he represents as transfigured by thoughts of one who seems to have been vouchsafed to his eyes but in occasional glimpses. The sonnets embalmed in that famous story of calf-love gave him early a poetic reputation and the friendship of Guido Cavalcanti, whom he was to supplant as the most illustrious poet of their native city, where he also knew the renowned artist Cimabue and his pupil Giotto.

Wherever Dante was, he had almost grown to manhood when vengeance fell upon Charles for the death of Conradin. In Sicily the king's French myrmidons had made themselves hateful by their insolent exactions. On Easter Monday, A.D. 1282, the hot temper of the Sicilians boiled over in that renowned massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers. The story goes that it began through a French soldier's rude handling of a young lady on her way to the celebrated

church of Monreale, when the insulter was killed with his own sword, and an indignant crowd raised the cry "Death to the French!" which spread like wildfire through the city. This seems inconsistent with another account that makes every house lodging a Frenchman marked beforehand for a premeditated slaughter at daybreak, in which none were spared who could not pronounce the Italian sound of *ci*, now used as a shibboleth. Thousands of the foreigners were butchered with a cruelty carried out upon babes unborn, on priests as well as soldiers. As the news spread through Sicily, other towns imitated the example; and the whole island blazed up in revolt.

The Sicilians offered their crown to Pedro of Aragon, who had married the daughter of Manfred, and was not unwilling to accept Conradin's heritage. He is believed, indeed, to have contrived the insurrection, which found him not far off, keeping a fleet and army on the African coast under pretence of war against the infidels. Charles had crossed the strait to attack Messina for a first stroke of chastisement; but the approach of the Spanish fleet sent him back to the mainland to see his own ships sunk and scattered in a naval fight. That ended his rule in Sicily, when before long he had to make head against a Calabrian rising, and it was all he could do to keep Naples, letting the island pass to the house of Aragon. An incident of their hostility is recorded that unites the manners of modern and of medieval times. It was proposed to set the issue on a battle of a hundred knights, to be held at Bordeaux, where the king of England should keep the lists for such an encounter as figures more fitly in the chronicle of Amadis de Gaul. Pedro reached the rendezvous with only two companions, and went through the form of riding round the arena, but then made a protest before a notary that, a French army being close at hand, he did not feel secure of fair play, and forthwith galloped back to Spain. A Spanish fleet served him better, which before Naples captured the son of Charles, whose life was spared, as he had not spared Conradin's. Soon afterwards (A.D. 1285) the worn-out tyrant of Naples was struck by death.

But the death of her baffled conqueror only complicated the welter of general and local feuds throughout Italy, where the party names of Guelf and Ghibelline began to be shot with shifting colours. The intensity of hatred bred from those dissensions is shown in the story of Ugolino, famed by Chaucer as by Dante. This haughty noble had made himself master of Pisa but for the opposition of his own nephew, whom he finally succeeded in banishing, yet was forced to associate with himself in the government Archbishop Ruggiero, whose artfully dissembled ill will he had earned by stabbing a nephew of the prelate, more sensible to family affection. Before long these colleagues fell to open strife; the Archbishop's faction gained the day, Ugolino had to surrender, then, with his two sons and two young grandsons, was shut up in a tower to be starved to death—a doom of guilty and innocent victims that moved even that age to pity. In his *Inferno*, Dante makes the Archbishop frozen together with his enemy, the one

gnawing like a dog at the other's head in hunger of revenge. Longfellow thus translates Ugolino's account of his death, which makes perhaps the most famous episode of the whole poem, a story familiar to us also in Chaucer:—

The hour drew nigh
At which our food used to be brought to us,
And through his dream was each one apprehensive;
And I heard locking up the under door
Of the horrible tower; whereat without a word
I gazed into the faces of my sons.
I wept not, I within so turned to stone;
They wept; and darling little Anselm mine
Said: "Thou dost gaze so, father, what doth ail thee?"
Still not a tear I shed, nor answer made
All of that day, nor yet the night thereafter,
Until another sun rose on the world.
As now a little glimmer made its way
Into the dolorous prison, and I saw
Upon four faces my own very aspect,
Both of my hands in agony I bit;
And, thinking that I did it from desire
Of eating, on a sudden they uprose,
And said they: "Father, much less pain 't will give us
If thou do eat of us; thyself didst clothe us
With this poor flesh, and do thou strip it off."
I calmed me then, not to make them more sad.
That day we all were silent, and the next,
Ah! obdurate earth, wherefore didst thou not open?
When we had come unto the fourth day, Gaddo
Threw himself down outstretched before my feet,
Saying, "My father, why dost thou not help me?"
And there he died; and, as thou seest me,
I saw the three fall, one by one, between
The fifth day and the sixth; whence I betook me,
Already blind, to groping over each,
And three days called them after they were dead;
Then hunger did what sorrow could not do.

Pisa was now humbled by her rivals on either side, Genoa and Florence. The latter became chief among the Tuscan cities, several of them then richer and more beautiful than London or Paris. She went on tinkering at her constitution, which took shape as an oligarchical Signoria of Priors, elected for two months only and kept shut up in what was for them rather a prison than a palace during their term of office — so suspicious was the fear of aristocratic domination as exampled in other cities. There were also executive officers under such titles as Podesta, Captain of the People, and Gonfalionere or standard bearer, these not less jealously watched and restrained. The nobles found themselves forced to merge with the merchant class by

marriage or by taking to trade. Exiled Ghibellines taking refuge in neighbour communities became strong enough to stir up an attack on their mother city; but in A.D. 1289 that movement was crushed in the battle of Campaldino, at which Dante first saw war. About this time the triumphant Guelfs of Florence split into fresh factions, the Whites and the Blacks, names still current in the party warfare of Italy. The Blacks were the extreme Guelfs, looking to the Pope as their leader, from whom the Whites drew away towards Ghibelline sympathies. Dante took the White side so strongly that he had swung round to be a vehement Ghibelline through those days of exile that would wring from him the sigh of what is his most often imitated verse—

> Nessun maggior dolore,
> Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
> Nella miseria.[1]

The Popedom itself was the shuttlecock of party spirit, at Rome now incarnated in the rival families of the Orsini and the Colonna, representing respectively Guelf and Ghibelline interests. The College of Cardinals being divided between these two kinships, elections were managed by intrigue, if not by force, Charles of Anjou once carrying off three hostile cardinals to bring about the choice of his nominee. The elections were often scenes of bloodshed, as when (A.D. 1271) Henry, grandson of our King John, was stabbed in the church of Viterbo by his own cousin, Guy de Montfort, a crime for which Dante condemned the sacrilegious murderer to a boiling gulf of his Inferno. At the death of Nicholas IV, a partisan of the Colonna family, the factions appear to have been at such a deadlock that for a time no Pope was elected; then, as if to try an experiment, an unworldly and feeble-minded anchorite was dragged from his cell to be consecrated as Celestine V (A.D. 1294). Under the thumb of the king of Naples he was got to create a majority of French cardinals, but soon grew dismayed among the troubles of an office for which he felt himself utterly unfit. It is said that the ambitious cardinal who succeeded him as Boniface VIII had played upon his timid scruples, even by the trick of a sort of megaphone through which what seemed heavenly voices commanded him to resign. At all events, after a few months, Celestine made *il gran refiuto*, drawing on him the scorn of Dante, by whom this Pope, afterwards beatified by the Church, was put in Inferno for his cowardice in an unprecedented giving up of the Papacy to make his soul's salvation surer. In this world he suffered enough for his fault: vainly seeking the seclusion of a hermitage, he was hunted out by his successor, jealous of the reverence called forth by Celestine's sanctity, and harshly imprisoned for the couple of years he had still to live.

[1] No greater grief than to recall happy days in misfortune. "A sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things."

Boniface was a man of a very different temper. Though close on eighty years old, he plunged keenly into the strife around him, out of which he hoped to set the Popedom supreme in both spiritual and temporal authority. In his pride he took on himself the ensigns of the Empire as well as of the Church. The German emperors, who had wrangled with his predecessors, were now grown shy of exercising the rights they claimed beyond the Alps, at last shrewdly observing, with Rudolph of Hapsburg, that "Italy is a lion's den out of which there are no footsteps backwards". Boniface, in his intrigues with the potentates whom he hoped to make his vassals, looked for support to France, whence he called in Charles of Valois, promising to get him made emperor, and in the meantime giving him vague authority in Central Italy as Count of Romagna. This French prince came to Tuscany armed only with "the lance of Judas", as Dante has it, meaning treachery; but by skilful handling of its rival factions he might contrive to win for himself some such dominion as fell to Charles of Anjou in the former generation.

A.D. 1300 Boniface held a Jubilee at Rome, offering remission of sins to all who spent a month in the Holy City. Pilgrims came by hundreds of thousands, before whom the infatuated pontiff paraded himself as master of the world. Among the throng seems to have been Dante, now probably beginning his Divine Comedy, in which he foresaw the still-living Pope in hell along with his royal enemies, this devout patriot's respect for the office being not less than his indignation against its unworthy occupant. When for the moment the Papacy appeared at the height of its grandeur, it was slipping to a fall which marks a turning-point of modern history as his great poem marks the midway of the poet's own life. "The Pope had called to Rome all the living," comments Michelet; "the poet convoked in his work all the dead; he passed in review the bygone world, classed it, judged it. . . . The Middle Age was dead; life is a mystery, perishing as it accomplishes its revelation. The revelation was the *Divina Commedia*, the cathedral of Cologne, the paintings of the Campo-Sancto of Pisa. Thus art made an end, closing a civilization, crowning it, laying it gloriously in a tomb."

Flushed by the exaltation of the Jubilee, Boniface forgot what he owed to France, and soon fell out with its king, Philip the Fair. The first seed of their quarrel was the Pope's setting up a new see in Languedoc and appointing as bishop one obnoxious to the king, who had him arrested and gave sharp answers to remonstrance from Rome. The Pope haughtily enjoined; the king stiffly refused, sending two lawyers as mouthpiece of his complaints. These ambassadors showed so little respect for the head of the Church that they are accused of forging a bull in which the Papal pretensions were put forth with offensive emphasis, and at the same time a false reply in which their king was made to insult and defy the proud Boniface. The French bishops declined to obey his summons to Rome, and his people backed Philip in making light of excommunication threatened by a Pope on

whom were retorted charges of heresy, witchcraft, simony, and worldly corruption. "Prince of the modern Pharisees", Dante brands him, while in turn denouncing Philip as "the modern Pilate" who "Christ in his own Vicar captive made".

In his rage Boniface had turned to the German emperor as champion, to be paid by the spoils of France, when Philip's long arm reached him in the heart of Italy. He was living at his native place, Anagni, among friends and kinsfolk. A band of 300 French soldiers had landed in Italy, leaguing themselves with a troop of brigands under one of the Colonnas, who, proscribed by the Pope as a criminal and a Ghibelline, had vowed his death. This party made a dash upon Anagni and fell to pillaging the houses of the cardinals, in which work some of the townsfolk lent a hand, for here, too, were factions. They burst into the Pope's palace, demanding his abdication. The poor old man wept as he stood expecting a cruel end. It is said that the brutal Colonna struck him across the cheek with his gauntlet, and that he was rudely insulted by Nogaret, the French king's minister, who had contrived this attack. But the latter was too politic to bring on his employer the scandal of pushing such outrage to the point of murder. He saved the Pope's life, hardly knowing what to do with him now that he was in his hands. After three days the men of Anagni, seeing by what a small body they had been overpowered, rose to the rescue, drove off the strangers, and set Boniface free. He hurried to Rome under an armed escort, to throw himself on the protection of the Orsini faction; but in their hands found himself again no better than a prisoner. The agitation of these violent vicissitudes seems to have driven him out of his wits. He refused food, foaming at the mouth and gnashing his teeth; one story makes him commit suicide by dashing his head against a wall; another hints at murder; his enemies declared his soul borne away by familiar demons, when (A.D. 1303) miserably ended the Pope, as to whom this prophecy is ascribed to his ill-starred predecessor: "Thou hast come in like a fox, wilt rule like a lion, and die like a dog".

In his place was elected Benedict XI, a well-meaning man, who fled from Rome to escape the tyranny of his cardinals. He proved more compliant to France, but he soon died, of poison as was believed. Nearly a year passed before the factious conclave could agree on a successor; then Philip's intrigues were successful in fixing the tiara on his Archbishop of Bordeaux, who as Clement V began by creating a majority of French cardinals and summoning them, not to Rome, but to Lyons. Thus the Papacy became transplanted into France, to which we must presently turn as the keystone of European history. For the meantime let us look back on Dante's own life.

Soon after the death of Beatrice he had married a wife to whom he is supposed to have been less ardently devoted than to that cherished memory. Aspiring to be a man of the world as well as a poet, to qualify himself for office he had to enter one of the guilds of Florence, and chose that of physicians and apothecaries, in which,

DANTE AND BEATRICE. From the painting by Henry Holiday in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Dante tells in one of his sonnets how Beatrice, having heard some false tale about him, one day coldly passed him in a street of Florence. The artist has pictured the incident as occurring on the bank of the Arno. Beatrice, flower in hand, is walking with two friends by the river side, when Dante approaches across one of the bridges which span the stream. He stands gravely expectant, as the three maidens pass by, but the recognition for which he hoped is denied to him. In the background of the picture is seen the quaint and picturesque Ponte Vecchio, which was then as now covered with houses and shops. The latter have belonged to the goldsmiths since the fourteenth century.

Henry Holiday, born in London in 1839, first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1858. He was early influenced by the work of the Pre-Raphaelite school, and has devoted much time to decorative work, mural painting, stained glass, mosaic, &c. The painting here reproduced by permission of the Corporation of Liverpool, is his most popular subject picture.

(36)

DANTE AND BEATRICE

HENRY HOLIDAY

from many hints scattered through his poems, he appears to have been an actual practitioner, while working also at the writings in prose and poetry whose respective date and order makes matter of controversy. Towards the end of the century he is understood to have begun his great poem in Latin; but, the manuscript being luckily lost, he recast it in the vulgar speech which it was his destiny to elevate into a noble language. Soon after he was thirty there are traces of him taking part in public business; then in A.D. 1300, probably on his return from the Jubilee at Rome, he was chosen one of the Priors, who held office only for two months, so that all qualified citizens may have had their chance of a turn in this dignity.

Dante's short term of office, coinciding with one of the chronic outbursts of faction that fevered Florence, was to be the misfortune of his life. There is reason to look on him as the dominant spirit of the magistracy by which, to ensure peace, the leaders of the wrangling Whites and Blacks were impartially banished, among them his own kinsman, Corso Donati, and his friend, Guido Cavalcanti; and it may well be that the stern temper of the poet now brought him into unpopularity. The exiles presently were able to return, Donati for one full of rancour against the authors of his banishment; then his faction, the Blacks, was placed in power by the arrival of Charles of Valois under the wing of the Pope. When this revolution took place in Florence, Dante was absent on an embassy to Rome. His enemies seized the chance to accuse him among others of embezzlement in office, as well as treason, alleged offences we may interpret as a difference of political opinion. They were summoned to trial within a few days, and when, as Dante could not, they did not appear, were condemned to a heavy fine, banishment, and perpetual disqualification for office. A little later this sentence was sharpened by the addition that, if found within the bounds of Florentine jurisdiction, they should be burned alive.

So Florence cast out her most illustrious son; and so began for him that wandering exile, in which he wrote at least the bulk of his *Divina Commedia*. Comedy was the title he gave it, apparently in modest comparison with the tragic epic of his master, Virgil, and his astonished countrymen added the epithet of *divine*; but nothing could be further from our ideas either of Divinity or of Comedy. This is no place for an analysis of the poem that has been overlaid by such a host of commentators, and so variously judged by so many critics, some placing it in the highest paradise of the muses, while others at the best condemn it to purgatorial fire. Among English readers fewer will be familiar with its labyrinth of obscurities and sublimities than are acquainted with the general plan of its three parts: the poet imagines himself guided by Virgil through the deepening gulfs of *Inferno*, then up the lightening ascents of *Purgatorio*, to be received in *Paradiso* by the soul of the sainted Beatrice, here typifying grace and wisdom in one, who conducts him to a culminating vision of the

throne of God, while she herself seems to merge into an image of the Virgin Mary now filling such a conspicuous niche in Catholic worship. Each division ends with the word *Stelle* (stars), as if to declare how the poet's eyes were turned from a woeful earth to the peace of heaven. The figure of Christ does not stand out so clearly in the shades of this Italian Pilgrim's Progress, this Christian Odyssey, where among much that is of dubious meaning and forgotten interest occur magnificent phrases, seizing descriptions, and moving episodes that have become stockpieces in the literature of Europe.

There may well be differences of opinion over the meaning and the merit of this extraordinary mixture of classical and Catholic forms, of philosophy and theology, of the real and the ideal, of historical and mythological personages, of the entrancing and the disgusting, of lofty generalities and base personalities, of famous and obscure names, of awful visions lit by flashes of genius, and sore memories of party spirit that spares neither the living nor the dead. To Ruskin, Dante is "the central man of all the world, representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties, all at their highest". To Voltaire it seems that "take away from Dante three or four score sublime and truly everlasting verses, and in the rest you have little but cloud, barbarity, triviality, and darkness". Lamartine sums up him and his work as "a great man and a bad book". Perhaps the common measure of criticism is expressed by Rivarol: "Of all poets he has most freely allowed himself improper and queer expressions; but when he is fine, nothing is comparable to him. His verse holds itself up by the sole force of the substantive and the verb, without the help of a single epithet." J. R. Lowell, who is one of his warmest admirers, quotes this last sentence as the best thing said about Dante's style. This may be said in his favour, that reverence for him has grown with time, and that few authors have had such tribute in the unusually difficult task of translation as this one, who, with a blending of pride and modesty, ranked himself sixth among the poets then renowned.

What most modern readers will learn from Dante's poem is the growth of humane sympathy since his day. Few men now—no man our world takes for great—would care to condemn their worst enemies to such revolting punishments as those in which he puts his friends as well as foes, even damning in advance men "that still eat and drink and put on clothes". His hatreds are more eloquent than his affections. When all is said to explain the angry bitterness of one—

> Who loved well because he hated,
> Hated wickedness that hindered loving—

we must be struck by the vehemence with which he branded political opponents, great and small, living and dead, Popes, kings, and fellow citizens whose names might be forgotten but for the stigma he has stamped upon them. It is notable that in his *Inferno* he has the most intense vision, till, purged for a moment of those rankling earthly

memories, he rises to the dazzling glory of God's own ineffable presence. "Tragedy herself, unless she leads from Terror to Pity, has lost her way", comments Landor by the mouth of Boccaccio, whom he makes to doubt if Dante really felt all the moral indignation he utters, but "had slipped into the habit of vituperation, and he thought it fitted him". Boccaccio, in his own person, however, declares this master of his so frantic in party spirit as to be ready to throw stones at boys or girls who might revile the Ghibellines. Nor is justice more apparent than compassion in a judgment that puts Justinian in heaven and that self-distrustful St. Celestine in hell, where some great heathen, and even Saladin, are admitted to the ease of Limbo, while others writhe in torment among peccant Christians. One asks, for instance, why the Brutus that expelled Tarquin should be so favoured, while his namesake, the slayer of Cæsar, is neighboured with Judas Iscariot. The answer seems to be that the exiled poet's vision of a golden age had now focused itself upon his imagination of the Roman Emperor as lord of this life and hope of peace for man below.

Peace! was the long sigh caught as an undertone through all those years of splenetic rancours and fierce denunciations. Sick of the broils of popular government, Dante had come round from his hereditary Guelfism to take the Ghibelline view of the Empire as shield and sword of the Christian world, and the only power that could give peace to Italy. This was the doctrine of his book, *De Monarchia*, as to which there is some question whether it was written in the first years of his exile or earlier; but it seems at least not to have been completed till after his short experience of public life. Here the divine right of the Roman Empire is proclaimed along with the people's right to freedom and justice: Dante's ideal emperor, in fact, is Carlyle's able king, Tennyson's "still strong man in a blatant land", so easily imagined, so hardly found, and so seldom put in power, which experience shows the best-intentioned despot as like to abuse as to use for the good of his subjects; but distance always lends enchantment to the view of an Antonine age, and in the poetic breast springs eternal the hope of a real Arthur or a second Alfred to guide a people of sages and heroes.

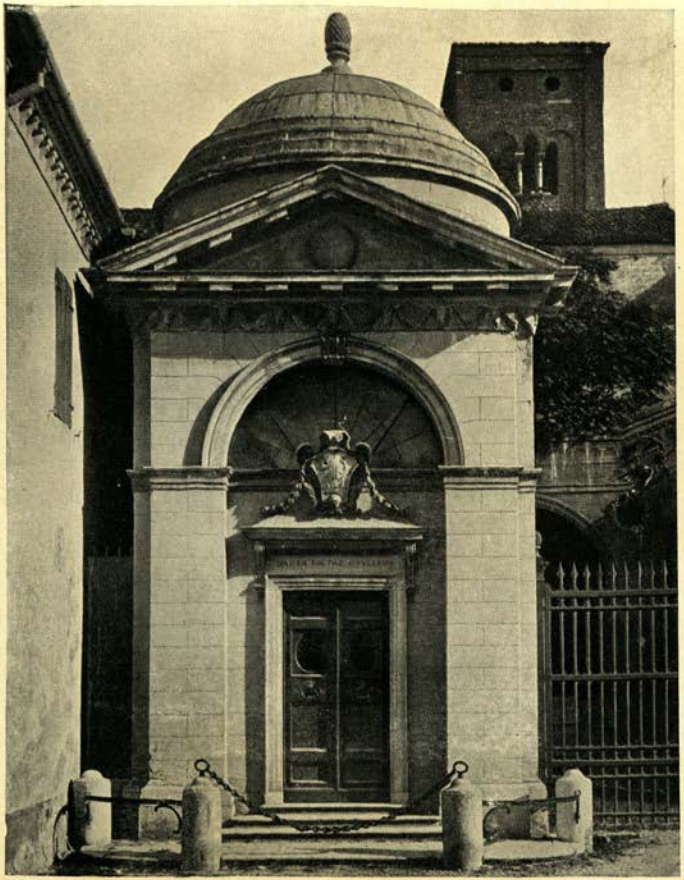
The poet, in whose eyes God is the Emperor of heaven, sometimes inclines to exalt Cæsar above the see of St. Peter, as heaven's vicegerent upon earth; and the legal studies that had been thriving in Italian universities went to exalt the function of a prince for whom was claimed heirship both to Justinian and to Augustus. Yet while in the *Inferno* Dante was exhaling the bitterness of his own and Italy's misfortunes, he could see little help from the empire, now tending to pass to Austria, but not yet confirmed in the house of Hapsburg. Several emperors had not cared to be crowned at Rome. For the moment they had to do with recalcitrant vassals, who, though nearer at hand to Dante, were not so well noted by him as were the distant border wars of England and Scotland. Swiss mountaineers

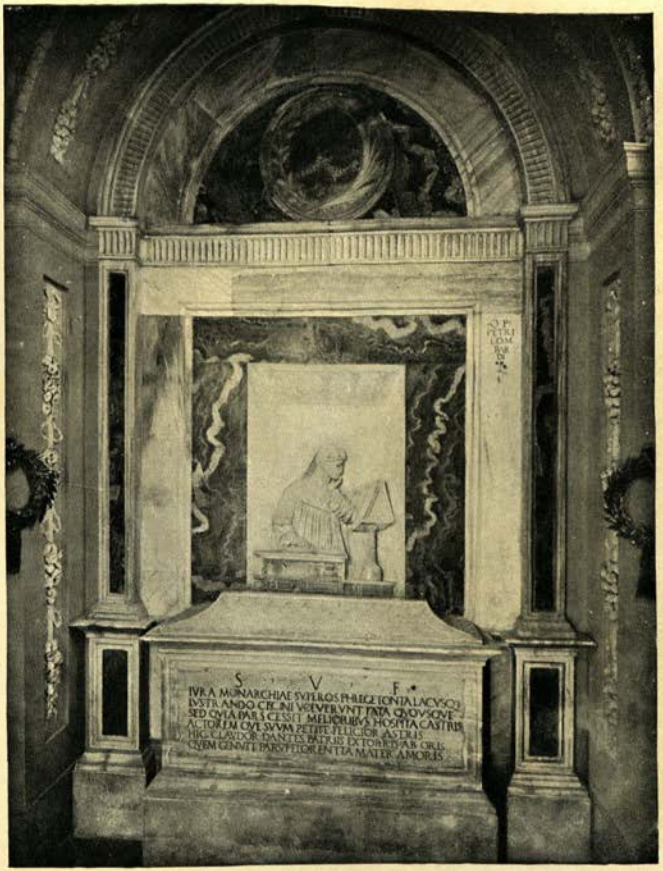
now began to make a firmer stand for freedom than that of the factious Italian cities. The three "forest cantons" of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden had come under the lordship of the Hapsburgs, but claimed old liberties and privileges, better guaranteed by their natural defences than by the repeated promises of princes, who had reason not to quarrel with such valiant recruits for their armies. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the insolent cruelty of an Austrian Vogt or bailiff drove the leagued cantons to a conspiracy, made illustrious by the exploits of patriots like the quasi-mythical William Tell. In A.D. 1308 Albert of Austria was preparing an attack on this stubborn rebellion, when he came to be assassinated by his dispossessed nephew John, a resounding crime at which the Swiss confederates shuddered; but Dante saw in it a judgment on this emperor's house:

> For that thy sire and thou have suffered thus—
> Through greediness of yonder realms detained—
> The garden of the empire to run waste.

Then from beyond the Alps hope dawned in the strained eyes of this exile. There seemed a return to the theory of the empire in the election of Henry of Luxemburg, a count of no high lineage or power, but noble in character and aim, chosen to baffle the intrigues of the French king, who, with the help of the Pope, now a captive in his hands, had sought to snatch this dignity for his brother, Charles of Valois. Henry VII not only exerted himself to put down lawlessness in Germany, after the example he had shown in his own minor state, but he revived the mission of Charlemagne by once more claiming in person the allegiance of Italy, where he was hailed by Dante almost as a Messiah, who should bring in that reign of peace that had been ill secured by "good Barbarossa" and other wearers of the golden crown.

In A.D. 1310 Henry came for the crown without which no emperor seemed fully consecrated in his title. As under Charles of Valois's wing the Whites had been expelled from Florence, so now Dante trusted that the Blacks would be overthrown in his native city by a monarch who brought but slender force from beyond the Alps. The Ghibellines rallied round him, and he received the iron crown at Milan; but against him stood the French king of Naples and a league of the Tuscan Guelfs headed by Florence, that stoutly refused its homage, though he spoke of making it his capital and the noblest city of the empire. The poet, who had previously met Henry at some station of his far wanderings, and found him a man after his own heart, seems now to have come to his side as a counsellor. He certainly lent a hand by letters stirring up the Ghibelline party to back their deliverer in his pacifying errand, first pleading with, then threatening the contumacious Florentines, and even hotly exhorting the emperor himself, who to this impatient Samuel, so Dean Plumptre puts it, appeared

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IVSTRANDO CECINI VOLVERVNT FATA QVO VONE
SED CVM LAPSA CESSIT MELIORIBVS HOSPITA CASTRIS
ACTORI M COELSVVM ZETHEA TELLVS ASTRIS
HIC CLAVSOR DANTES PATRIIS EXTORRIS AB ORIS
QVEM GENVIT PARVS FLORENTIA MATER AMORIS

(54)

DANTE'S TOMB, RAVENNA: EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR VIEWS

The poet's remains were originally interred in the church of S. Francesco, Ravenna. The present mausoleum adjoining the church was erected in 1482 from designs by Pietro Lombardo. The epitaph on the sarcophagus is attributed to Dante himself.

backward as Saul in accomplishing the duty appointed him by heaven. Henry had to deal with practical difficulties less apparent to an eager poet—want of men and money, of coherence and unity among his partisans. It was not for two years that he was able to fight his way to Rome, which he found closed against him by Neapolitan troops, and had to be content with a coronation in the suburban church of St. John Lateran. He then marched against Florence, but could not take it, baffled by desertions from his ranks and by the ravages of disease that dogged this army as those of his predecessors. Retreating towards the Lombard cities that were his base, in A.D. 1313 he died of poison, as the belief went, entombed in the Cathedral of Pisa, and exalted to a throne in Paradise by the poet, who had in vain looked to him as the regenerator of a woeful world.

Bitter was Dante's disappointment, and salter than ever henceforth the bread which he sought by climbing other men's stairs. All North Italy keeps vague memories of his last wanderings, on which have been given him more legendary refuges than Homer had birthplaces. There are clear glimpses of him passing from the court of one patron to another, where his soured temper, never too sweet, might not long keep him a welcome guest. After Henry's death the empire was rent by fresh discord, that ended in the right of election being settled on seven Electors, lay and priestly. The post of Ghibelline leader, offered to the Spanish king of Sicily, who shrank from meddling in the tangle of Italian politics, was taken up by Uguccione della Faggiola. This native lord rallied the party at Lucca, from which he undertook a campaign against Florence, but after one signal victory was discomfited, and Dante lost a protection under which his hopes had again been raised only to be dashed to the ground. Florence now offered an amnesty to her banished citizens, yet on such humiliating conditions that the proud spirit of this "undeserving exile" scorned to avail himself of it, unless his innocence might be fully recognized.

He next turned to Can Grande della Scala, lord of Verona, in whose stately court he found entertainment for a time, and could note the local feuds between such families as the Capulets and the Montagues, that were to be more famed by a foreign poet. But there are hints of strained relations between this patron and a dependant who was not likely to get on with any patron much better than Dr. Johnson did with Lord Chesterfield. The story goes that a coarse joke played by some of Can Grande's courtiers on the ill-tempered poet precipitated his seeking final refuge at Ravenna, whose lord, Guido da Polenta, had already employed him on a mission to Venice. During the first part of his exile his wife and family seem to have remained at Florence; but it is supposed that he was for a time joined by his sons when grown up, and that his last years may have been soothed by the daughter whom he had christened Beatrice, and who became a nun at Ravenna. There is reason to believe that at least once he

found asylum in a cloister described in *Paradiso*, which may have sheltered him for the completion of his great poem, and soothed his fretted spirit into that gentler mood that could exclaim,

In la sua volontade è nostra pace.

At Ravenna (A.D. 1321) he found peace, closing his eyes to a world where all his dreams and hopes seemed going to ruin. Here he was sumptuously buried by his last protector; and Italy mourned him as one now felt to be her greatest man. A cardinal was for burning his bones as those of a heretic, but he durst not dishonour the grave that in a few years began to be widely venerated, and still remains the pride of Ravenna. Florence, which he had reviled as a cruel stepmother, in vain begged his ashes; then before the century was out set an example, followed by other cities, of instituting chairs to expound the famous work of her outcast son, ever since flourishing amid a thick forest of expositions.

Even had Dante never written his *Divina Commedia* he might rank as the first great Italian writer by his smaller poems and prose treatises, among them the *De Vulgari Eloquio*, a pregnant plea for the use of vernacular speech instead of the Latin in which his great poem seems to have been begun. His own style in this speech is still too archaic and experimental to be a model, and Italian literature took shape in the hands of his disciples, Boccaccio and Petrarch, both sons of Florence, though not born within its walls. Boccaccio, author of the *Decameron*, who found favour at the court of Naples, was the first Florentine professor of Dante's work, which he treated with more zeal than insight. Petrarch's father had been a notary, banished from Florence along with Dante. This herald of the Renaissance, as he has been called, flits through the fourteenth century as a lighter shadow of the poet who sang the requiem of the Middle Ages. Like Dante, he cherished hopeless love for a married woman, the Laura de Sade whose name he made famous. Like Dante, Petrarch cherished dreams of a regenerated Italy, to be federated as a republic under the headship of Rome, where his friend Rienzi had a brief and clouded career as popular leader under the titles of Tribune and Senator, soon finally extinguished by the Popes, when they could again seat themselves at Rome as Italian princes. Like Dante, Petrarch passed his life in exile, but, unlike him, in honour as the "laureate poet" of Italy and of all Europe. His celebrated retreat was at Vaucluse, near Avignon; and to see what drew him there we must go back to the history of France, now the European centre of gravity.

CHAPTER IX

Philip the Fair (A.D. 1268–1314)

The successors of St. Louis were neither saints nor heroes. His son Philip III had taken the stamp of devout observance impressed on him by such a father, but his piety bore little fruit. He was a weak and dull man, much under the thumb of his mother and his wife, by whose opposing counsels, and by favourites, he let himself be directed. The evil genius of his reign was that masterful uncle, Charles of Anjou, who, when he had lost Sicily, dragged the nephew into his own quarrel with the king of Aragon. At the end of his short reign Philip undertook to invade Spain, the first attempt of France at a war of conquest, from which he fell back baffled by the destruction of the fleet that supported him; and on this retreat the king died, A.D. 1285.

His son, Philip IV, was still more unlike Louis IX, unless in the face and figure that earned him the by-name of *le Bel*, more readily bestowed upon kings than on common men. Though he too did not neglect religious professions and practices, this crafty and grasping king took—rather than priests—bankers and lawyers for his confidants, with whom he worked unconsciously at demolishing the age of faith. One of his first acts was to shut out the clergy from courts of administration; then, by his high-handed dealings with the Church, he was drawn into a quarrel with the Popes, who hitherto had looked to France as their champion against the emperor, but now were to find themselves made vassals of a new tyranny.

The great concern of Philip's reign was need of money to carry out his aggrandizing policy. By marriage with the queen of Navarre he gained territory in the south, where he came into fresh quarrel with England, then much occupied by the conquest of Wales and its attempts to conquer Scotland, so that by fomenting the resistance of Wallace, Philip was able to keep Edward I from coming to close quarters with himself. Edward in turn stirred up against his rival the princes of Germany, subsidized by funds which he also had much ado to raise. Another bone of contention between them was the province of Flanders, dotted like Lombardy with prosperous cities that drew the raw material of their manufacture from English wool. The Count of Flanders, falling out with his people, sought the support of England by a proposed marriage between his daughter and Edward's son. But he was a vassal of the king of France, who managed to make both him and his daughter prisoners at Paris. The Flemings

at first received Philip as a deliverer, but soon revolted against his exactions and the insolence of the French nobles that came to oppress their rich cities. At Bruges, A.D. 1302, there was a popular rising and massacre of the French, which recalled the Sicilian Vespers a generation before. As in Lombardy, local jealousies kept the Flemish cities apart; Ghent held aloof from the movement when others joined it to swell the forces of Bruges that at Courtrai, A.D. 1302, met Philip's army commanded by his cousin Robert of Artois, whose rash pride now served him as ill as the elder Count of Artois fared at the battle of Mansoura. Scorning their enemy as a rabble of merchants and artisans, the French knights spurred forward across a plain cut up by ditches and canals, into which they fell floundering, helpless in their heavy mail, to be picked out and hammered or stabbed to death by the Flemings, like lobsters in their shells. Twenty thousand are said to have been drowned or butchered in that rude shock to chivalry known as the "battle of the Golden Spurs", from the quantity of such spoils that were gathered by the victors.

Philip had to treat with the triumphant burghers, against whom he was less unsuccessful in another campaign two years later; and was able to keep French Flanders when he gave back the rest of the country to its lord. At the end of the century he had made peace with England by marrying his sister to Edward I, and his daughter afterwards to Edward II.

More and more, money came to be the sinews of war, now that feudal service was found less efficient than paid soldiery. Hitherto needy kings had turned to the Jews, that patient race that, in spite of contemptuous hatred and cruel persecution, contrived to hold out in their ghettoes, and there to amass the gold of which they were so often spoiled, yet went on growing secretly rich in spite of all their sufferings. Now the Jews began to be supplanted as moneylenders by Italian bankers, who, bringing with them the use of bills of exchange, found their way both into France and England, where their settlement in London is recorded by the name of Lombard Street, close to the Old Jewry. Another notorious nest of usurers was Cahors in Provence, from which the first of them to appear in England got the name of "Caursins" (*Cahorsins*). All through the Middle Ages moneylending was looked on askance as forbidden to good Christians by Scripture as well as by pride and ignorance; but when spendthrift nobles were not so scrupulous about robbing or cheating their creditors, bad security called for large profit, and a high rate of interest kept up the unpopularity of the money dealers welcomed by Philip to help him with devices for fleecing his subjects.

One resource that brought him into special discredit was that of debasing the coinage. The right of minting money was not yet an exclusive privilege of kings, being shared by them with so many great vassals and churchmen that in the time of Louis IX some eighty French lords struck coins for their territories, most of them making more or less profit out of the issue. The king's growing power availed

Pope Emperor (? Henry VII) King (? Philip the Fair) Baron Laity St. Dominic

(55) Dominicans as black-and-white dogs hunting heretics (wolves)

THE CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT

Part of the fresco on the east wall of the Spanish Chapel, Church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence

The Pope (? Benedict XI) is the central figure of a group in the lower portion of the fresco. On his right hand are the dignitaries of the church, along with the humbler members of his flock. On his left hand are the representatives of secular power (as reproduced above). The naming of the figures follows Vasari's account of the painting, but his interpretation is not now generally accepted.

to restrict such licence, yet at the end of Philip's reign more than a dozen separate coinages circulated in France. The convenience of a common standard was so plain that his attempts to secure a monopoly of coining should have been popular. But whereas his grandfather's money had been noted for its goodness, Philip recklessly alloyed his, with the effect of throwing trade into confusion, while on all commercial dealings, thus complicated by continual disputes as to value, he also laid a tax that increased the exasperation against a king stigmatized by Dante as the "false moneyer".

When by loans, taxes, and debased money he had wrung all he could from the masses and commercial classes, Philip drew upon the wealth of the clergy, and thereby fell out with Rome. We have seen how Pope Boniface threatened to depose this king, who retorted by having him seized at Anagni with a brutal violence that hastened on his death. After the short Popedom of a more conciliatory spirit Philip had the Archbishop of Bordeaux elected Pope, who under the title of Clement V was installed at Lyons, A.D. 1305, and showed himself willing to be a subservient tool of the French crown. For long the Popes, escaping from the factions of Rome, had often been fain to wander from city to city of Italy; now their seat was transferred to France, where they remained for the greater part of the century during seven successive Popedoms, the election being secured by a majority of French cardinals.

Having got the Pope under his hand, Philip lost no time in using him to fill his coffers, emptier than ever after the war in Flanders. For ten years he had been debasing the coinage, till it sank in value by two-thirds, while prices and rents went up, and debtor and creditor could never adjust their accounts without wrangling. Seeing how little he gained thus in proportion to his subjects' loss, the king used a fresh subsidy from the Church to restore his coinage to its old value. This change, made suddenly, threw accounts into fresh confusion that brought about an *émeute* at Paris, when Philip found refuge in the Temple, afterwards the prison of Louis XVI. It is then that he may have first cast a covetous eye on the wealth of the Templars, who allowed him to borrow money, but excited his ill will by refusing, it is said, to admit him into their privileged order.

First, he tried spoiling the Jews, against whom the Pope readily licensed his proceedings. Heavy taxes and partial confiscations had already been pressing them out of the country, when, A.D. 1306, all the Jews in France were arrested, their property and books seized, and their debtors ordered to pay to the king. In England also, under Edward I, the Jews were banished and robbed; but both kings found themselves disappointed in their share of the plunder, much of it sticking to the hands of their agents, and much being concealed or smuggled away by artful exiles always prepared for such a stroke as now fell on them. Soon, as always, the Jews were so much missed as to be allowed, even invited, to return. The same spoliation and banishment from France befell their Italian rivals, who also came

boldly back to play the hated part of usurer where the profits of money-lending were calculated in proportion to its perils.

Philip had more difficulty in bringing his Pope to countenance that suppression of the Templars that makes the most notorious event of his reign. This order, beginning as a handful of devoted knights who took on themselves the service of guarding the road to Jerusalem, had in two centuries grown to be a byword for wealth and pride, their possessions swollen by pious legacies, and their ranks constantly refilled by the younger sons of the European nobility. Their headquarters, originally on the site of the Temple at Jerusalem, had been moved to Acre, and thence to Cyprus, while they went on acquiring thousands of manors and strongholds dotted over Europe as sanctuaries of independent power, under the protection of the Pope, recognized as their sole overlord. Their Priories were united as Preceptories, these all under the Grand Master, who held his head high among princes, as commander of an army bound to implicit obedience to him as to no other authority. The name Temple, in our own as in other countries, recalls the chief stations of this international power.

Almost from the first the Templars had been the backbone of the Crusades, surpassing the older order of Hospitallers, with whom they were at chronic quarrel. Now that their occupation was gone, through the abandonment of the Holy Land, Pope Boniface had the idea of uniting the military orders as an arm of flesh for the Papacy. The kings of Europe, naturally looking askance on such a design, shared a general resentment against the haughtiness and insolence of the Templars, as depicted for us in Scott's *Ivanhoe*; nor were they loved by the prelates whom they held in small respect. There could be no question as to their courage: again and again they had been the forlorn hope of campaigns in which their ranks were almost annihilated. But it was suspected, perhaps not without some reason, that in long intercourse with the East they had let strange heresies taint the purity of the faith they were vowed to defend. In an age when men readily believed that Jews kidnapped Christian children to be victims of cruel rites, it was whispered that the Templars secretly worshipped idols, and profaned the symbols of their avowed creed. They came to be accused of unnatural vices and shameless profligacy. Riches and idleness could hardly have failed to corrupt the original austerity of their lives. Their disciplined force made them a danger to the kingdoms in which it lay islanded, a state within a state, united for offence or defence by the weight and temper of their organization. The order had all along been mainly composed of Frenchmen, and the greater part of their lands lay in France, so Philip might well be tempted to take the lead in an attack on them from which other kings had shrunk, not always for want of will.

This king, whose motives throughout often seem obscure, pretended or persuaded himself to believe in secret charges against the order, which he communicated to the Pope. At Clement's invitation the

Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, came from Cyprus to France, bringing with him a considerable treasure. He and his knights appear to have had no suspicion of the plot hatching against them, till in the autumn of A.D. 1307 they were suddenly arrested all over France by order of the king. Flung into the prisons of their enemies the bishops, by cold, starvation, and atrocious tortures, from many of them were wrung confessions of guilt, among which what most powerfully stirred reprobation was an avowal of trampling and spitting on the Cross. The Grand Master himself and four other chiefs were given out as having made such confessions; but little was said of hundreds who, after every ordeal, indignantly protested their innocence.

The Pope, as he well might, showed some reluctance in sanctioning this cruel persecution, as in satisfying another demand of the king, that he should blot the memory of his predecessor Boniface by declaring him a heretic. But Clement was practically a prisoner at Poitiers, and the king gave plain hints how he might act without him, comparing himself to Moses, who had destroyed the golden calf of his priestly brother Aaron. Under such stress Philip's high-priest appointed a Commission for the trial of the Templars, who, as a religious order, stood subject to no judge but the Church. Before this court appeared hundreds of knights to tell the tale of their torments and to denounce as false the confessions extracted from them. Full publicity might have turned opinion in their favour; as it was, they found some sympathy even among prejudiced inquisitors. Philip had called upon his brother kings to hold a similar enquiry, and in England, in Spain, and elsewhere they were pronounced innocent of the worse crimes laid to their charge, an acquittal with which the Pope and Philip found fault because torture had not been used to get at the truth. When the proceedings of the commission had in France dragged themselves out for two years, the king began to fear that his victims might yet escape him. To expedite matters he set at work judges of his own, headed by an archbishop consecrated for the purpose; and this court, in a single day, gave a sentence over which the Pope's commissioners still hesitated. Prisoners who confessed were let go; those denying their guilt were condemned to lifelong imprisonment, and those retracting their former confessions to be burned. Next day, before a crowd silent for astonishment, more than fifty knights were thus executed at Paris, now declaring their innocence to the last. A few more came to be burned in different parts of the country, while the mass of the knights, if they had escaped death in prison, effaced themselves under this reign of terror, that seems to have paralysed Frenchmen's minds as in our time we have seen them obsessed by a belief in the guilt of Captain Dreyfus, who yet lived down his persecution. The Grand Master and others were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; but, nearly four years later, being brought out to attest in public their forced confessions, Jacques de Molay and one more took the opportunity of boldly retracting them, and were at once sent to the stake by the king's command.

Before this, in A.D. 1312, after receiving a report from his commission, the Pope held a council at Vienne, the king being present to keep him to his task of wiping out the obnoxious order. Here was enacted the farce of proclaiming a new Crusade, on which no one went or meant to go, when at the same time were condemned those knights that all along had led the van of such enterprises. Clement pronounced the order abolished, giving over its property to the knights of St. John, professedly to be used for the deliverance of the Holy Land. But in France, at least, the king contrived to lay hold on much of the Templars' wealth, and is even accused of helping himself also to part of the Hospitallers' own possessions, who durst not protest under the dreadful example of their rival's fate.

In other countries the doomed order got off more lightly, though everywhere the Pope's decision was accepted as suppressing what seemed a danger to the authority of kings. In England the worst that happened to them was imprisonment and the loss of their estates, their London sanctuary being handed over to the lawyers, a body now beginning to be independent of the Church, who so soon made themselves at home here that, before the end of the century, Chaucer could describe "a manciple of a temple". In Spain, where the Crescent was still at close quarters with the Cross, they found more sympathy, a new order of knighthood being created to embody so doughty champions. Many entered other orders, or retired into monastic life. Some were absorbed among the knights of St. John, who in Rhodes, and afterwards in Malta, continued to hold outposts of Christendom down to the end of the eighteenth century; and in our time their name at least has been revived as that of a charitable association in harmony with the original purpose of this brotherhood.

Even in France, where a few knights ventured out of their retirement, offering to defend their cause before the Pope's Council, a certain reaction in popular feeling was moved by the cruelty and injustice brought to bear on the abased Templars. But pity was overshadowed by a frenzied mood that seems to have possessed the king and his advisers. At the same council an attack was made on the poverty-vowed Franciscans, accused of heretical mysticism and excesses of spiritual passion. A very epidemic of suspicion raged about the court itself, rife with libels of poisoning, adultery, sorcery, dealings with the devil. A bishop was denounced as having killed the queen by making an image of her in wax to be stabbed with needles, a kind of spell then much in vogue, if we can trust many such accusations. Philip's three daughters-in-law were arrested on shameful charges which led to two knights being flayed alive, among more obscure executions; two of these princesses were kept in prison, one of them said to have been strangled by her husband when he came to the throne. This scandal is still more mysterious than that of the Templars, in which we have seen how evidence of crime could be manufactured. Some years later a rumour spread that the lepers had plotted to poison the wells, or by other means to spread their own loathsome malady, at the prompting of

Jews, according to one story, or of Saracens as another had it. In different parts of France those miserable wretches were seized by hundreds, put to the torture to extract confessions, and many of them burned, 600 at once in Languedoc, says a contemporary, let us trust exaggerating, while at Paris were executed "only those found guilty". A hundred and sixty Jews were burned at one time—men, women, and children. Distress caused by famine and commercial anarchy helped to madden the people into fits of praying, howling, and scourging themselves in crowds by way of averting the wrath of heaven that seemed to brood over the land. In A.D. 1320 there was another gathering of fanatical countryfolk, like the *Pastoureaux* under Louis IX, who, with professions of going to the Holy Land, marked their way south by riot and the massacre of Jews, till soldiery scattered them, to be hanged by scores.

Out of the scenes of misery Philip had brought on his people he was removed A.D. 1314, in the prime of life. Tradition gives out the Grand Master of the Temple as having at his fiery stake summoned both Pope and King to meet him before the Judge of all. Soon afterwards Clement died, it was said in doleful agony, having slipped from the king's hands to the quasi-independent city of Avignon, not yet absorbed into the French kingdom, where the Papacy now made its seat for two generations. His deserted funeral bed caught fire from the torches placed round it, so that the unrevered Pope's body was half-burned. A few months later Philip's turn came to die, of some mysterious ailment that could be taken for the canker of conscience; but other accounts make him killed by a boar or a stag in hunting. More than one unfortunate was suspected of having poisoned him, an accusation which seems to have been dropped when imprisonment and tortures could extract no avowal.

From first to last there is much mystery and apparent contradiction in the reign of this king, then the most powerful of Europe. Whether stupid or selfish, he is charged with no sins of private life; and his acts, tyrannous as they often seem, went towards destroying feudal France and building the modern kingdom. He restrained persecution of Jews and heretics when he had no interest in stirring popular prejudice. He fostered the University of Paris, now taking high place among the schools of Europe. He showed quite modern sentiment in the emancipation of serfs. He repressed the power of the nobles, prohibiting private wars and idle tourneys; he would have no one play the tyrant but himself. He called national assemblies, such as were afterwards known as States-General, where the nobles, the clergy, and the bourgeoisie might consult in common, not indeed with such freedom as in Louis IX's time had been won by the English barons for their parliament. This word in France took a different sense, the Parlement of Paris, and those of provincial cities, being originally the king's courts, which came to give legal decisions and local ordinances, and might also be called on to register their master's will.

The unpopularity of Philip's rule largely fell on the ministers, men

of humble or foreign birth, who may have best deserved the credit or discredit attached to his measures. One of these, Enguerrand de Marigny, was in such high authority during the latter part of the reign as to be looked on as the king's colleague or mayor of the palace. At Philip's death this favourite was left exposed to a league of the nobles exasperated by a decree forbidding them to coin money, good or bad, without royal licence. Headed by the late king's brother, Charles of Valois, they had Marigny condemned, upon the then prevalent accusation of practising sorcery, to be hanged like a thief, in witness of a temporary reaction of feudal sentiment. All Philip's three sons came in turn to the throne, which, after their short reigns, passed in A.D. 1328 to their cousin, Philip VI, as head of the Valois branch of the royal house. Philip the Fair's daughter Isabel married, and had a hand in murdering, our Edward II, an alliance through which came her son's claim to the French crown, to be contested in the Hundred Years' War that would cost so much blood to both countries, already oppressed with such burdens by the rivalry of their sovereigns.

CHAPTER X

Edward III (A.D. 1312–1377)

Another king now came to the front in European affairs, who united a strong taste for the pomp and punctilio of chivalry with a turn for ambitious intrigue that together made his long reign one of costly warfare. This was Edward III, by his father's imprisonment and murder set as a youth on the throne of England A.D. 1327; then before reaching manhood he shook off the tutelage of his mother and her ally, Roger Mortimer, to show himself a masterful ruler. In his long reign began the Hundred Years' War for the crown of France, which he claimed in right of his mother; whereas the French barons, invoking the Salic Law that barred descent in the female line, on the death of Philip le Bel's youngest son had transferred it to his nearest kinsman, Philip of Valois.

The English king had not at once insisted on this claim, raised for him by his mother. He did homage in due form to Philip for his French possessions, as he called on the king of Scotland to recognize his own feudal superiority. With these two powers he was to be almost constantly at war, turning alternately to face one and the other. The odds against him were heavy, France being as much larger and better peopled than England as England than Scotland, where the embers of hostility might always be blown up by French aid. But England was developing strength by her commercial enterprise and by the absorption of the conquerors into a conquered race that had never lost its native spirit. As the Norman learned the English tongue, the Saxon was taught to excel in the archery by which he had been overcome. Under a king whose humour was to furbish up the pageantry of knighthood, who sought to revive the glories of Arthur's Round Table, who founded the Order of the Garter, there would come about that "triumph of the yeoman and archer" over noble and knight, by which unconsciously Edward worked for the destruction of chivalric feudalism.

Already England was attending to the business that made her rich, without being wholly engrossed in it, when London could turn out 10,000 soldiers to aid the barons in bringing Henry III to an understanding that he must be no despot. While in France trade was slighted and hampered by its rulers, on our side of the Channel the recourse and settlement of foreign merchants had been encouraged ever since Alfred's day; and at the close of the thirteenth century Matthew of Westminster could compare London to Tarsus for the ships bring-

ing the produce of all countries into its port. England's own wealth, as yet, was mainly in the pastures that bred cattle and sheep to furnish a generous diet for her people. Her chief export was of the wool which her industrious neighbour, Flanders, spun into cloth with such profit that Ghent and Bruges had grown to be larger cities than London. Edward III, the patron of idle tournaments, was also the founder of English manufacturing when he invited Flemish weavers to bring their craft into England, and at one time sought to foster this industry by forbidding the export of English wool.

The Low Countries, long to be "the cockpit of Europe", made now a breeding-ground of quarrel between the two rival kings. Edward followed his predecessors' policy of alliance with Flanders, no sure ally in its distraction between rising democratic spirit and time-honoured submission to feudal lordship. Having married Philippa, daughter of the Count of Hainault, he offered himself to the Flemish cities as their champion against the Count of Flanders, who was altogether under French influence; and his stopping the export of wool forced them to accept an English protectorship. Besides Jacques van Arteveldt, the brewer of Ghent, who became practical president of an attempt at a republic, in the Duke of Brabant and other great nobles Edward found supporters for considerations of money or of hostility to France. He secured also the alliance of the emperor, who, by the title of imperial vicar beyond the Rhine, gave him a show of right to interference here.

Ten years after his accession he crossed the sea for an intermittent war upon the Flemish border, that brought him little of the chivalric renown for which he panted. The enemy was not to be drawn to a decisive battle. His motley host fell away when he failed to subsidize its leaders with money grudged by his people. The Flemish cities did not at once throw themselves wholeheartedly into the contest. They professed scruples as to fighting against their suzerain; and more than one of the lords following Edward's banner up to the French frontier, there turned back, beyond it prudently recalling their allegiance to King Philip. Such scruples set Edward on pressing his claim to the French crown, at the instigation, it is said, of Jacques van Arteveldt, also of Robert of Artois, a banished kinsman of Philip, to whose resentment the English king gave asylum. Van Arteveldt succeeded in stirring up the Flemings to more active participation in the war; but in 1345 he was killed in a popular rising against his domination, that no longer restrained the discords of the cities and their factions.

Several years of costly warfare had made little impression on France, guarded in the north by the fortified cities, Cambrai and Tournai. Philip still avoided coming to action, and all Edward could do was to "destroy the country", over which he made raids among its forests and marshes. Froissart's famous chronicle of those times gives us too many glimpses of the misery wrought in the track of war; but the English knights who, as he relates, came abroad with one eye closed by a patch of silk till they should do some feat of prowess in France.

THE SIEGE OF A TOWN DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. From Froissart's *Chroniques d'Angleterre* (British Museum).

Jean Froissart, a Fleming, born of humble parents near Valenciennes about 1338, became a parish priest in his native country, but spent most of his life at the courts and castles of kings and knights. He was for a time in England as secretary to Queen Philippa and the captive King John of France, and among later patrons were Guy de Blois, Gaston de Foix, the Duke of Berry, and Robert de Namur. At first a writer of indifferent verses, he devoted his later life to the great Chronicle of his time which has immortalized him. The Chronicle is uncritical, but vivid in its narrative, and a fitting memorial of a stirring age. Froissart died in obscurity about 1410.

The miniature on the illuminated page here reproduced from a British Museum copy of the Chronicle, shows the siege methods and weapons in use in Froissart's day. The cannon and ammunition indicative of a new era in the art of war are seen side by side with the bows and arrows of the old order.

Comment la ville de Ribodane fut prinse de force par les Anglois. Le chapitre. .xxx.

Environ quatre iours apres ce que messire Jehan de Hollande et messire Thomas de Persi furent venus en lost du mareschal Et quilz eurent Cheualiers et escuiers auec toutes manieres de gens ordonnez a vn appareil dassault Aprez plusieurs euures faites a ce seruans Et charpenter de boiz vn engien sur roes que on pouoit bien mener a force dhomes la ou on vouloit Et dedens celluy pouoient bien aiseement Cent archiers et autant de gens darens quy eust voulu mais pour cest assault archiers y entrerent Et auoit on raemply le fosse alendroit ou lengien deuoit estre menez Lors commenca lassault et lengien a aprochier la ville lequel aloit a force de boutemens sur roes Et laians et tout entour estoient archiers bien pourueus de flesches que ilz traioient a ceulx

(37)

THE SIEGE OF A TOWN DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

FROM FROISSART'S "CHRONIQUES D'ANGLETERRE"

must have found difficulty in releasing themselves from their rash vow. The most important English success was in a fierce naval battle at Sluys, where, under the king's own eye, his archers served him well by sea. But still the French ships preyed on English commerce, and made bold attacks on our Channel ports in return for Edward's ravages on the Flemish border. All his aspirations after glory had gained for England was heavy burdens of taxation, for which, however, a remedy was being prepared in the growing power of Parliament, now divided into two Houses that began to turn the king's need of money to good account in restricting his power and making his ministers answerable for its exercise. The machinery of our constitution was already at work.

The French meanwhile had been successfully encroaching on England's feudal dominion in the south of France. From the lowlands of Scotland also Edward had to draw back discomfited, when his nominee, Baliol, was driven from its throne by the national sentiment rallied round young David Bruce. He was fain to make a short truce with France, broken by a fresh quarrel over the succession to Brittany, in which the two kings took the side of rival claimants. In 1345 the war flamed up again in Guienne, where Henry of Lancaster won such successes that Philip gathered a great army to crush this active assailant. To his aid Edward sailed with 30,000 soldiers; but instead of making for Bordeaux, as had been his first design, he landed in Normandy and pressed forward on Paris, left exposed by the French king's march southwards. This bold dash had the effect of drawing off the attack on the English in Guienne; but it was foiled by a gathering of foreign mercenaries for the defence of Paris. Edward fell back towards his Flemish allies, Philip closing upon him till he stood at bay beside the village of Crécy in Poitou, which he claimed for his own territory, as heritage from his mother.

This first of our great Continental battles (26 August, A.D. 1346) was fought at heavy odds. The king of France led on nearly all the chivalry of his realm, hot for revenge on its ravaging invader. The English army, half made up of light-armed Welsh and Irish auxiliaries, was wasted and worn out by a retreat so rapid that at one point the dinner prepared for Edward came to be eaten by Philip. But it held a strong position on rising ground, with a ditch in front and woods protecting its flanks. At the highest point stood a windmill, where Edward took his post to command the whole field. He had a new weapon in the shape of "bombards" shooting iron balls or stones, from which not much more seems to have been expected than to throw the enemy's horse into disorder. This is the first recorded instance of the use of artillery in a great battle. The strength of his army, however, was in its archers, who with their longbows could shoot three shafts for one bolt from the crossbows of Philip's Genoese mercenaries. As the two armies faced each other a heavy thunderstorm came on that wet the crossbow strings, while the English archers kept theirs dry beneath their hoods. When the storm had passed over, the evening

sun shone out at the backs of the Englishmen, like an omen of victory, but full in the eyes of the French knights, impatiently spurring on to the attack.

Philip himself was not disposed to rashness. More than once he had shrunk from battle with this rival, according to Froissart, on a warning from his kinsman, King Robert of Sicily, who, by his skill in astrology, foretold to him a disaster at the hands of the English king. But now Philip's hatred of the enemy got the better of his prudence, or he was carried away by the impetuosity of his barons. The Genoese crossbowmen, put forward to begin the battle, wearied by a long march on foot, and declaring their arms unserviceable through the rain, soon gave way before the hail of arrows that met their half-hearted attack; then the impatient cavalry charged through their ranks, cutting them down as they fled. This medley already threw the French into confusion, increased as they rushed into the storm of arrows falling upon them like snow. The plunging of wounded or scared horses still further disarrayed masses that made easy targets for the archers; and the mailed horsemen, overthrowing one another in the press, lay a helpless prey to the knives of Welsh and Irish kernes darting forward to stab the horses and to slay the fallen riders. We do not hear of much execution done by the clumsy cannon. Behind the archers, the English men-at-arms, dismounted for the nonce, held their ground stiffly against the French onset, baffled by its own impetuosity, and pressed into disorder by its very weight.

The spirit of chivalry was still displayed on either side. One division of French knights, breaking through or slipping by the hedge of archers, fell upon the wing that was under nominal command of Edward's son, the "Black Prince", as he came to be called from the colour of his armour, then a boy of fifteen. Finding himself hard pressed, he sent to his father for help, who asked if he were wounded or dismounted; if not, said the king, "let him win his spurs", and left his heir to earn the more honour by holding his own unaided, as indeed he did. On the French side rode King John of Bohemia, son of the late emperor, Henry VII, who, though almost blind, when he heard how the battle went ill, made his attendants link their bridles to his and lead him into the thick of it, where they were all killed together. The crest of this king, three ostrich feathers with the motto *Ich dien*, was taken as a trophy by the Black Prince, and has ever since made the cognizance of our Princes of Wales. The king of France himself appears to have fought doughtily, and had only some threescore men about him when a henchman seized his bridle to lead him away from the lost field. The sun set upon a scene thickly strewn with corpses or sorely wounded Frenchmen, dashed to death against the English lines that without stirring laid low more than their own numbers, with but trivial loss on their side. A great part of the slaughter seems to have been of Frenchmen who blundered among the victors through the night, and next day when, in a thick

mist, reinforcements coming up from the neighbouring towns encountered Edward's army without recognizing them as enemies, to be butchered before they knew of the defeat.

In all 30,000 men are said to have fallen, the English showing no mercy to prisoners. France was paralysed by a stroke that cut down nearly 100 of her princes and lords and 1200 knights. In an hour or two Crécy gave Edward the ascendancy for which he had been struggling so long in vain. Henceforth indeed the whole face of war underwent a change, when it was shown how mailed knights could be overthrown by footmen, in open field as among the mountains of Switzerland. Armorial bearings would soon have a slump in value. "Men began to doubt if those lions bit, if those dragons of silk vomited fire and flames." Before long the fire vomited from cannon would be playing upon armour the damage already wrought by the longbow of Robin Hood and the crossbow of William Tell.

Relieved at one blow from his difficulties, Edward went on to besiege Calais, that hornet nest of corsairs on the English Channel. No enterprise could have been more popular among his own people, who supplied the king with a strong fleet to block the hostile port, while he encamped against it by land. The men of Calais, well aware of the hatred they had stirred in England, made a desperate resistance. The siege had lasted for nearly a year before Philip could rally an army for the relief of the town; then he found the besiegers so strongly entrenched behind ditches and palisades, not to speak of the dunes and marshes making natural fortifications, that he retired without risking a battle. Meanwhile, all went well with the invader. In the north the Flemings brought a large force to support the winning side. In the south the English regained their losses. At home Queen Philippa led an army to face the Scots, who were defeated at Neville's Cross, their young king, David, being taken prisoner. The queen joined her husband in time for the surrender of Calais, where Froissart shows her playing a dramatic part. The starved burghers were forced to send out six principal men with halters round their necks to be at Edward's mercy. So exasperated was he by their long holding out that he would have executed those volunteer victims offhand, in spite of remonstrances from his officers, till the queen, kneeling before him in tears, moved him to mercy.

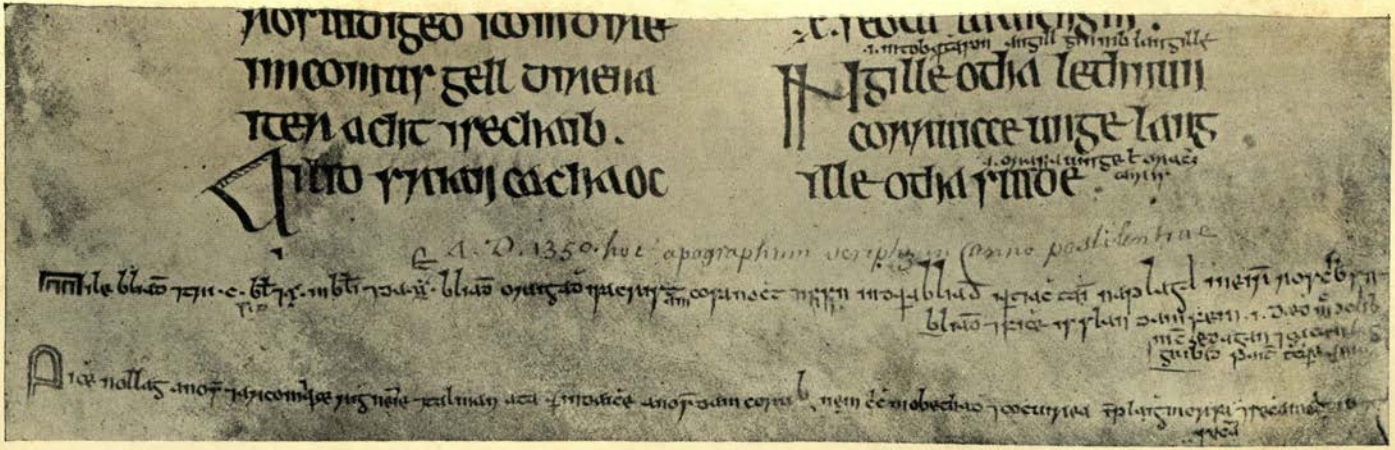
The possession of Calais gave Edward a door into France; and he at once took steps to make it an English town, as it remained for two centuries. At the age of thirty-five he now shone out as the most illustrious figure in Europe. Offered the imperial crown by the electors of Germany, he did not care to accept that burdensome honour. At home he was popular in spite of his high-handed government, none the less for the costly brilliancy of a court that paraded shows of the chivalry most gorgeous in autumn hues of decay. His humbled enemy Philip was driven to a truce, made on mediation of the Pope, who, at Avignon, continued to serve as an advocate of France. And the turmoil of war was hushed for a time under the awful shadow

of the Black Death that spread over Europe, hardly noticed by courtly chroniclers like Froissart, yet in a year proving more deadly than a century of battles.

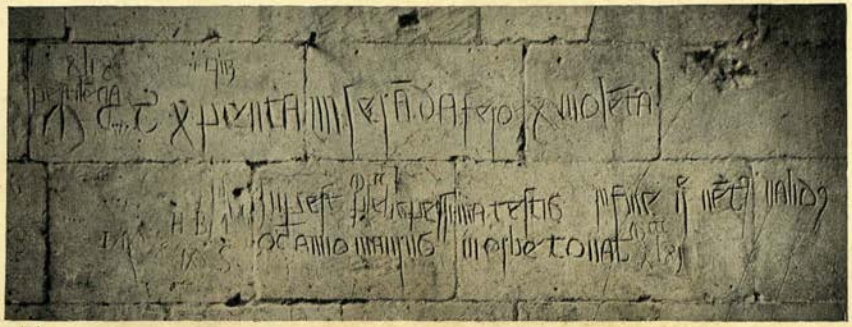
This plague, generated in the East, has again and again visited Europe, where more than one great city was almost depopulated by it so late as the eighteenth century. So far as can be judged by the records of unstatistical times, its most devastating outbreak was in the middle of the fourteenth century. Like leprosy, and an invasion of rats, it is said to have followed the retreat of the Crusaders, and may have smouldered without notice in secluded corners till (A.D. 1348) it broke out violently through the south of France, soon spreading into adjacent lands, all the faster perhaps for the ravages of war that paved a way for it among impoverished and disheartened victims.[1] In some countries it is believed to have carried off half of the population, or even more. In great cities the deaths were loosely counted by tens of thousands. Boccaccio states that in three or four months 100,000 persons died at Florence, while he betrays the vagueness of medieval statistics by adding that the city was not known to contain so many. Fifty thousand Londoners are said to have been buried in a field on which Queen Philippa's follower, Sir Walter Manny, afterwards built a Carthusian monastery which gave its name to the Charterhouse. But often the living were hardly able to bury the dead. In parts of France a chronicler declares that not a tenth of the inhabitants were spared.

The most famous and full account of this plague is given by Boccaccio in the Introduction to his *Decameron*, for which its horrors made a strange frame. It began with a swelling under the armpit or groin, then came an eruption of black spots as almost sure sign of death within two or three days, for few recovered. So contagious was it that panic-stricken citizens fled from their homes, brother forsaking brother, wives their husbands, even parents their children. Happy seemed the sick who could get even hirelings to wait on them for high wages. Many perished alone, their death made known to neighbours only by the exhalations of putrefying corpses. Bodies were laid out in the street to be hurried off for hugger-mugger interment, with maimed rites or none, and seldom a mourner at the thickly packed graves. The remaining townspeople bore themselves variously through days of dread, as Boccaccio describes. Some kept secluded in their houses, living carefully and pleasantly, as if they could shut out the scourge at work around them. Some boldly faced the danger, walking out with nosegays of flowers in their hands, or sniffing at odoriferous herbs and spices to overpower the stench that was a sensible sign of infection. Some took to reckless revelling, singing, laughing, and frequenting taverns, as if to make the best of the days they might have to live. Crime and debauchery ran rampant among forsaken homes,

[1] It is noticeable how often the gathering of a medieval army bred pestilence, easily accounted for by a neglect of cleanliness concealed beneath the fine trappings of chivalry. The air and the ground were blamed, as with more reason the water; but no one then suspected how the germs of infection could be spread by vermin or insects.



INSCRIPTION ON TWO PAGES OF THE SENCHUS MOR, the great collection of ancient Irish laws. It has been translated thus: "One thousand three hundred and fifty years from the birth of Christ till this night: and this is the second year since the coming of the plague into Ireland. I have written this in the twentieth year of my age. I am Hugh, son of Conor MacEagan, and whosoever reads it let him offer a prayer of mercy for my soul. This is Christmas night, and I place myself under the protection of the King of heaven and earth, beseeching that He will bring me and my friends safe through this plague. Hugh, son of Conor MacEagan, who wrote this in his father's book in the year of the great plague." Hugh MacEagan survived the plague, for the *Annals of the Four Masters* records his death in 1359. (*Photographed from the original in Trinity College, Dublin.*)



INSCRIPTION ON THE WALL OF ASHWELL CHURCH, HERTS, referring to the plagues of 1348–9 and 1361. (*From a photograph.*)

I. MC ter X penta miseranda ferox violenta Discessit pestis: superat plebs pessima testis. MCCCL.

[In 1350 the deplorable fierce raging pestilence departed: the dregs of the people survive to tell the tale.]

II. In fine ij ventus validus . . . Maurus in urbe tonat.

[At the end of the second visitation of the plague there was a mighty wind . . . Maurice * thunders in the city.]

* The storm occurred on St. Maurice's Day (Sept. 22), 1361.

CONTEMPORARY RECORDS OF THE "BLACK DEATH", 1350

that often stood open to any comer, when law and custom were paralysed under the general dread. And those who escaped from the noisome city could nowhere count on safety.

Little less was suffered in the villages round about, wherein, setting aside enclosed castles, which were now filled like to small cities, poor labourers and husbandmen, with their whole families, died most miserably in outhouses, yea and in the open fields also, without any assistance of physic or help of servants; and likewise in the highways or their ploughed lands, by day or night indifferently—yet not as men, but like brute beasts. By means whereof they became lazy and slothful in their daily endeavours, even like to our citizens, not minding nor meddling with their wonted affairs, but, as awaiting for death every hour, employed all their pains, not caring in any way for themselves, their cattle, or gathering the fruits of the earth, or any of their accustomed labours, but rather wasted and consumed even such as were for their instant sustenance. Whereupon it fell so out that their oxen, asses, sheep, and goats, their swine, pullen (*poultry*), yea their very dogs, the truest and faithfullest servants to men, being beaten and banished from their houses, went wildly wandering abroad in the fields, where the corn grew still on the ground without gathering, or being so much as reaped or cut. Many of the foresaid beasts, as endued with reason, after they had pastured themselves in the daytime, would return, full fed, at night, home to their houses, without any government of herdsman or any other. How many fair palaces, how many goodly houses, how many noble habitations, filled before with families of lords and ladies, were then to be seen empty, without anyone there dwelling, except some simple servant! How many kindreds worthy of memory, how many great inheritances, and what plenty of riches, were left without any true successors! How many good men, how many worthy women, how many valiant and comely young men, whom none but Galen, Hippocrates, and Æsculapius, if they were living, could have reputed any way unhealthful, were seen to dine at morning with their parents, friends, and familiar confederates, and went to sup in another world with their predecessors!—Boccaccio's *Decameron.*

As usual, the plague gave rise to outbursts of superstitious devotion. In Germany, which lay under an interdict of the Church on account of its emperor's hostility to France, crowds went about lashing themselves with iron-pointed scourges and singing hymns unknown to the priesthood. The same fanaticism spread into France, where it had to be put down by force. Noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies were drawn into these penitential processions of Flagellants by a mania that broke out repeatedly through the Middle Ages. In some parts the unfortunate Jews now again fell victims to the popular fury, tortured, massacred, and burned by hundreds on suspicion of having poisoned the wells, that through Christian ignorance may have indeed been filled with infection.

At the end of the year the plague invaded England, where in some parts of the country at least it carried off full half the population, then to be counted at between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000. The whole social organization was thus thrown out of gear. Labour became scarce, and

wages went up with prices. Through the celebrated "Statute of Labourers" the Government in vain attempted to repress this natural tendency by fixing wages at the old rate and forbidding men to quit their native place in search of employment. Such laws, frequently renewed, might have thrown back the peasantry into the condition of serfs; but they failed to be effectually enforced by severe punishments going to fill the country with outlaws and breeding the discontent that later on would come to a head in popular insurrection.

Though hands were lacking to till the fields, soldiers could still be raised among ruined landowners and fugitive peasants. In A.D. 1355 war was rekindled with France, that had suffered still more from pestilence at the heels of disaster, and under Philip's successor, John, came to a most pitiable plight. The Black Prince, from his headquarters at Bordeaux, pushed devastating raids over the south, paying his troops by letting them pillage parts of the country that had not yet suffered so much from invasion as the north. These ravages roused such hatred against the English that John was able to place himself at the head of an army with which he might hope to crush the freebooting foreigners. The Black Prince, marching north to join the Duke of Lancaster, found himself cut off from his base, and obliged to give battle near Poitiers, at the edge of the English feudal dominion in southern France. He had not ten thousand men against six times as many; and was fain to buy a retreat by offering to surrender the towns and prisoners he had taken. But the French, keen to avenge Crécy, pressed on, with the same result. The English held a strong position in a country of hedges and ditches, where again their heavily mailed assailants could not attack with advantage, while the archers, ensconced behind thorny hedges, laid them in heaps. This time, remembering how at Crécy the arrows sent their horses plunging and scampering, most of the French cavalry dismounted to charge on foot; then, encumbered by their heavy equipment, they struggled up in successive waves broken into a disorder upon which the English men-at-arms bore down with sweeping effect. It is said that the clang of steel upon armour could be heard miles off at Poitiers, whither the routed Frenchmen fled, but found its gates shut against them. Before noon the English had slain as many as their own numbers and taken twice as many prisoners, more than they could guard, so were glad to let the lords and gentlemen go on a promise of ransom to be paid at Bordeaux before Christmas. Our national pride in the victory of Poitiers (A.D. 1356) may be abated by the consideration that our army was largely made up of Edward's French subjects, fighting against those whom they did not yet fully recognize as their countrymen. The decisive charge, taking the French army in rear, had been made by a Gascon lord known as the Captal de Buch, who figures much in these wars.

Among the prisoners were the king of France and his son Philip. The Black Prince, who that day, says Froissart, showed himself "courageous and cruel as a lion", treated his royal captive with the

best manners of chivalry, waiting on him at supper like a page and paying him high-flown compliments on his courage. When he entered London in triumph with such trophies he affected the humility of riding on a little hackney beside his captive, mounted on a white warhorse as principal personage in the show. The French king was lodged in the Savoy, where, with excursions to Windsor, he spent several years, France being too impoverished to raise the enormous ransom demanded for him.

Once more France had been staggered by a stunning blow. The Dauphin, not yet out of his teens, timid and sickly, had fled from the field of Poitiers to make a poor figurehead for the shattered state. Under its provost of merchants, Etienne Marcel, Paris took a lead in the distraction, fortifying itself and bringing together a meeting of the States-General, in which the nobles, fugitive or captive, were ill represented. There could now be forced upon the prince a sweeping ordinance for the reform of abuses, that if carried out would have given France a constitutional government. But the Dauphin's lordly counsellors held him back from heading this popular movement; and the troubles of the time seemed beyond amelioration by law, vainly trying to rear its head from a welter of intrigue and violence.

In the country the people suffered unbearable distress, brought about through the ravages of invasion and the huge sums wrung from them to pay the ransoms of their lords. The beaten soldiery also had here and there turned brigands, preying on their fellow countrymen. Driven to madness, the starving peasantry gathered in an insurrection known as the *Jacquerie*, from the nickname of Jacques Bonhomme given to such poor country-folk. For a moment it was their turn to wreak upon their oppressors the brutalities and robberies of which too plain example had been set them. With horrible outrages they fell to sacking castles and slaughtering their masters, lords, ladies, and children, with a cruelty moved by blind hatred of the class to which their sufferings seemed due. But the nobles soon rallied to scatter these flocks of sheep turned wolves; and the revolt was quenched in bloodshed as indiscriminate as its own excesses.

Still France was torn both by civil and by foreign war. The Dauphin had to be on his guard against the king of Navarre, known as Charles the Bad, though he seems to have been no worse than other princes who gained more flattering epithets as little deserved as that of the *Good*, borne in history by King John of France. Descendant of the Louis and Philips on the spindle side, Charles of Navarre had the same claim to the crown of France as had Edward; and now in John's absence setting himself against the weak Dauphin, after putting down the Jacquerie, he fomented at Paris fresh broils on his own account. Etienne Marcel, for a moment the most powerful man in France, had prepared to deliver Paris to him. Then Marcel was murdered; the Dauphin entered Paris; and Charles grew so much alarmed by the advances of the English that he laid aside his own

ambitious projects to face the common enemy. This king of Navarre's name turns up frequently in the shifting warfare of the period.

Courtly chroniclers like Froissart dwell too little on the seamy side of that war in which famous knights like Sir John Chandos on one hand and Bertrand Duguesclin on the other stand out as models of courage and chivalry. They exchanged compliments and mutual respect as warriors worthy of each other's steel, yet even their points of honour did not always bar treachery and ingratitude. Their pride was as inordinate as their courtesy was strained. When, later on, Duguesclin became prisoner to the Black Prince, the latter, it is said, would have let him off with a light ransom, but the French paladin, though a poor man, thought it concerned his honour to set on himself the high figure of 100,000 francs. Such lofty-minded knights paid little heed to the common folk by whom in the long run those ransoms had to be paid, while they were dragged away from their wasted fields to make targets for arrows and lances.

It was not only regular armies that trampled down the country, but troops known as "free companies", let loose by the English upon France, to pay themselves by pillage. These licensed brigands, of various nationalities, but generally known as English, excited hatred as well as terror by the multiplied misery of fire, slaughter, plunder, and famine that marked their raids. Here and there the maddened peasantry that had risen against its masters turned upon the invaders with the fierceness of desperation; and thus under the blows of a foreign foe would be hammered into shape a new sentiment of French nationality.

At the end of A.D. 1359 Edward again invaded France in person, pushing as far as Paris and Rheims across a country so wasted that he had to fall back to secure supplies. The Dauphin and his counsellors had hitherto resisted exorbitant terms of peace agreed to by their captive king; but now they were more ready to buy off an enemy who seemed able to fix himself in the heart of France. The English might well be dismayed through a "Black Monday" of portentously dark and cold thunderstorm that at Easter (A.D. 1360) is reported as killing hundreds of men and thousands of horses by lightning, hailstones, or bitter cold. Soon afterwards peace was made at Bretigny on terms of compromise. Edward gave up for the moment his claim to the crown of France, which for its part released him from his feudal dependence as regarded his French possessions. He kept for himself in sovereignty the south-western provinces of Poitou, Guienne, and Gascony, along with a considerable slice of territory about the mouth of the Somme, and the enclave of Calais, in all some quarter of modern France.

King John was now released to raise for himself his huge ransom of 3,000,000 crowns, a sum being paid on account, and three of his sons left as pledge in the hands of the English. He met but a cold welcome in his ruined kingdom, where he was so hard put to it for money that he agreed to sell one of his many daughters to be bride

EUROPE
A.D. 1360
Holy Roman Empire
Territories within the Empire
House of Wittelsbach
" " Habsburg
" " Luxemburg
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
BAY OF BISCAY
ENGLAND
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
RUSSIAN STATES
PRINCIPALITY OF MOSCOW
GREAT BULGARIA
THE GOLDEN HORDE
LITHUANIA
POLAND
VOLHYNIA
GALICIA
PODOLIA
UKRAINE
FRANCE
BRITTANY
AQUITAINE
DAUPHINY
PROVENCE
BURGUNDY
FLANDERS
BRABANT
LUXEMBURG
CASTILE
ARAGON
PORTUGAL
GRANADA
NAVARRE
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
STYRIA
TYROL
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
SERVIAN PRINCS
BULGARIA
EASTERN EMPIRE
OTTOMAN TURKS
SELJUK TURKS
KASTAMUNI
DOMINIONS OF MOHAMMED ARTIN
GEORGIA
KUBAN
ARMENIA
K. of CYPRUS
CRETE
SICILY
NAPLES
PAPAL STATES
LANDS OF THE VISCONTI
CROATIA
BOSNIA
DUCHY OF ATHENS
COUNTY OF CEPHALONIA
PRINCE OF ACHAIA
DUCHY OF NAXOS
MARINIDS
ZIANIDS
HAFSIDS
BARKA
MAMELUKES
Sardinia (To Aragon)
Corsica (To Genoa)
Balearic Is (To Aragon)
Shetland Is (To Norway)
Orkney Is (To Norway)
Channel Is
Holland
Gothland
Gotland
Prussia
Pomerania
Brandenburg
Teutonic
Livonia
Courland
Novgorod
Pskov
Smolensk
Tula
Orel
Kazan
Astrakhan
Tiflis
Jaffa
Damietta
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Jerusalem
Damascus
Antioch
Tripoli
Tunis
Algiers
Oran
Tangier
Gibraltar
Seville
Cordova
Lisbon
Coimbra
Oviedo
Pamplona
Saragossa
Barcelona
Valencia
Narbonne
Toulouse
Bordeaux
Lyons
Geneva
Basel
Swiss Confed.
Strasburg
Metz
Paris
Rouen
Calais
Ghent
Utrecht
Cologne
Aachen
Frankfurt
Magdeburg
Hamburg
Bremen
Dresden
Prague
Breslau
Posen
Thorn
Warsaw
Lubin
Kiev
Minsk
Pinsk
Riga
Dunaburg
Pskov
Novgorod
Stockholm
Upsala
Stavanger
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Dublin
York
London
Dover
Calais
Channel Is
Brittany
Le Mans
Tours
Angers
Burgundy
Bourges
Lyons
Geneva
Basel
Swiss Confed.
Strasburg
Metz
Paris
Rouen
Calais
Ghent
Utrecht
Cologne
Aachen
Frankfurt
Magdeburg
Hamburg
Bremen
Dresden
Prague
Breslau
Posen
Thorn
Warsaw
Lubl

for a son of the rich Visconti tyrant of Milan. His son Louis having escaped from the position of hostage at Calais, the poor king held himself bound to return to London, perhaps better off there than at Paris. Lodged again in the Savoy, he spoke of going a Crusade, but presently died (A.D. 1364), so sumptuously mourned by his generous enemy that round the corpse were burned in St. Paul's 4000 torches twelve feet high, and as many candles weighing ten pounds each. Edward's death, in turn, would be ceremoniously mourned at Paris: most strange through this long war seem the civilities repeated between the two courts in the midst of quarrel *à outrance* at the expense of their subjects.

England herself, though her victorious king could still make costly displays, was only less impoverished than France. Both countries now came to be swept by an aftermath of the Black Death that in France may well have followed famine. The social disorders of England engendered agitators like John Ball, a Kentish priest, who stirred questions never wholly silenced since his day. "By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we?" was his call to a revolution quenched in blood. "If we all come of the same father and mother, of Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride? They are clothed in velvet and warm in their furs and their ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread; and we eat oat-cake and straw, with water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, the rain and the wind in the fields. And yet it is of us and our toil that these men hold their state."

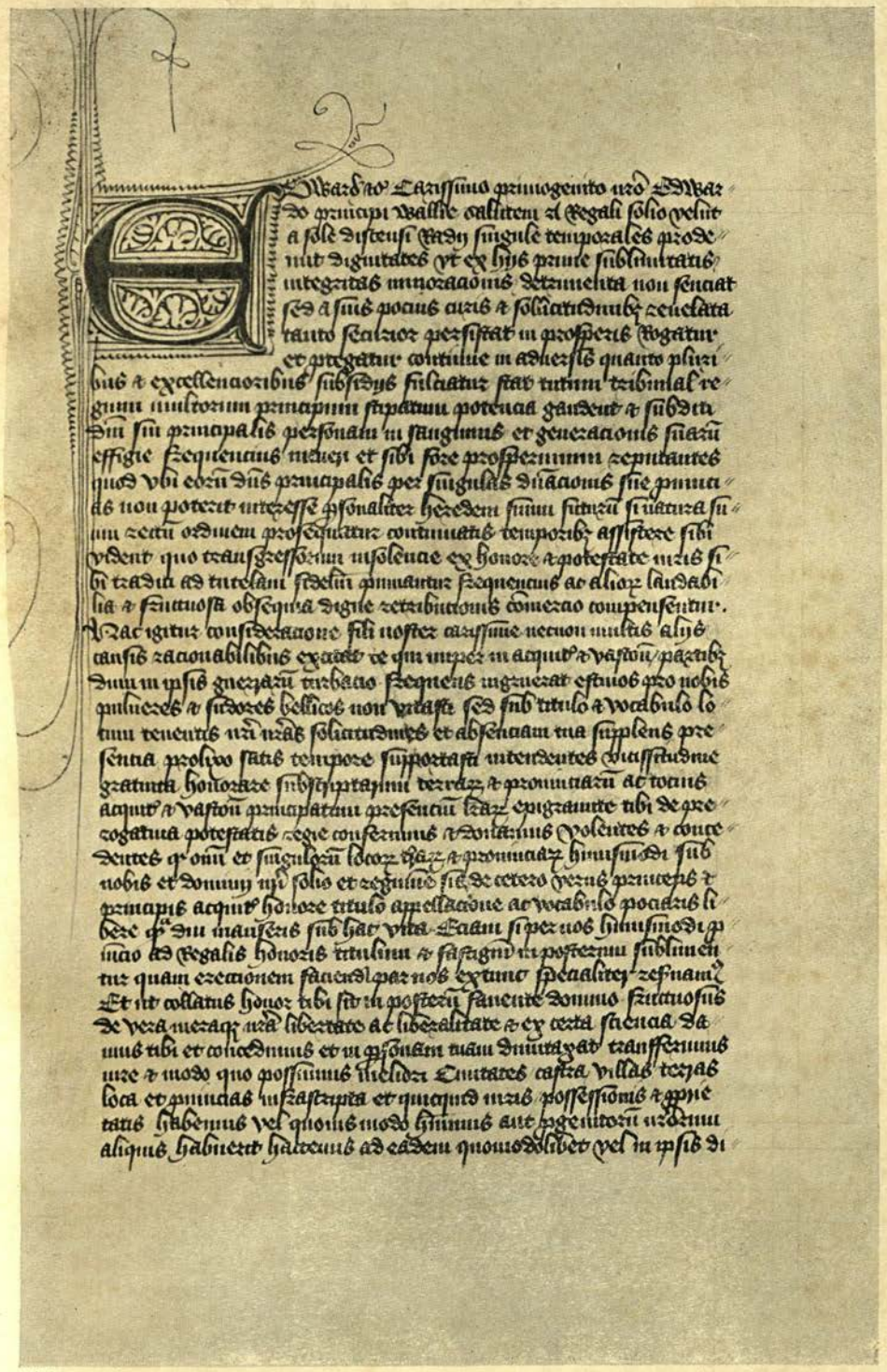
Another storm was brewing in Englishmen's minds that would burst at length after gathering head for more than a century. King and people were at one in resenting the claims of an Italian priest "to tax or toll in England". The right of Rome to present to benefices and to levy tribute had always been a sore point. The Popes, who in exile lost some of the reverence paid to the time-honoured capital of Christendom, continued to demand money, swallowed up in such expenses as the building of the towering palace which, after being turned into a French barrack, now makes a museum of Avignon's singular history. Under Edward III was passed the first of those statutes of *Præmunire* that set the king's law above the law of the Church, whose doctrine began to be challenged as well as its pretensions. Now arose John Wycliffe and the Lollards to prelude the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Chaucer and Langland, from different points of view, give us glimpses at the seething of a generation in which Saxon and Norman were being finally amalgamated into a people of one speech and one national sentiment, all the more readily for the speedy crumbling away of Edward's foreign dominion.

With the title of Duke of Aquitaine the Black Prince was sent to Bordeaux as his father's viceroy, a measure of Home-rule that did not please the southern French. They had fought for the English

against their overlord the king of France, but now began to rally to the idea of a French nation, unwilling to be absorbed by the foreign power whose officers must have been unlike their descendants had they shown themselves tactful and sympathetic masters. John's son, now King Charles V, making up in craft what he wanted in courage, took every advantage of that discontent, and, growing bolder as fortune favoured him, patiently contrived to win back nearly all the fruits of the English conquest. This was a new type of king, who, instead of mounting to horse and proving his manhood in single combat as Edward had done in front of his army, sat quietly at home weaving plans to be carried out by warmer-blooded leaders.

His own kingdom was in a most wretched state, overrun by troops of disbanded soldiers of different nations, who, known as Companions, fought and pillaged for their own hand, some holding towns or castles which they turned into dens of robbers, some gathering into formidable bodies that for a time defied the king's crippled power. One such "Grand Company", led by a chief styling himself "Friend to God and enemy to all the world", beleaguered Avignon, threatening the Pope till he was delivered by the Marquis of Montferrat, who succeeded in tempting away part of that body for an attack on the Visconti of Milan; and their ravages were transferred to Italy, in whose feuds the like of them now played a leading part under the name of *condottieri*. Still too many of those freebooters remained in France, against whom the Pope in vain preached a crusade. A futile effort was made to enlist them for the defence of distant Hungary against the infidel; then Bertrand Duguesclin was more successsful in drawing the bulk of them off to a new field for plunder and bloodshed in Spain; and scattered bands that would not take such service could in time be hunted down and crushed out by ruthless executions.

Peter, king of Castile, had earned the byname of the "Cruel" by crimes among which was the murder of his wife Blanche, sister-in-law to the French king. Policy as well as resentment moved Charles to an interference blessed by the Pope, who conferred legitimacy on Peter's bastard brother Henry; and a French army undertook to set him on the throne. Peter, hated by his subjects, fled to Bordeaux, appealing for help to the Black Prince, whose interest was to check French influence in Spain. He in turn marched across the Pyrenees, recalling to his standard those of the freebooting companions that were English by birth or allegiance, while others fought under Duguesclin for Henry. At the battle of Navarete (A.D. 1367) the English won a victory in an unworthy cause, Duguesclin being taken prisoner and Pedro restored for a time to his throne. But the climate of Spain was more fatal to the English than the weapons of the enemy, and the Black Prince had to lead the remnants of his army back over the Pyrenees, he himself prostrated by sickness which he never threw off. No sooner was he gone than the Castilians again rose against their tyrant, in vain calling Jews and Saracens to his defence. Pedro was defeated and killed by Henry, who, with French



(57)

CHARTER CONFERRING AQUITAINE ON THE BLACK PRINCE, 1362

The original charter was dated 19th July, 1362. The opening portion reproduced above is from a copy made in the fifteenth century. The charter is in Latin: a later document in French records that the Prince undertook to pay an ounce of gold annually as an acknowledgment of his father's sovereignty.

(*British Museum. Add. MS. 32097.*)

aid, could now hold the disputed crown, when after the fruitless glory of Navarete the tide of war turned against England.

Pedro had tempted the English by promises of payment that was not forthcoming; so upon his deceived ally fell the main expense of that expedition into Spain. To meet it, the Black Prince laid a hearth-tax on his French subjects, an exaction that drove them into appealing to the king of France. Ignoring the negotiations by which his suzerainty had been given up, Charles summoned the Duke of Aquitaine as his vassal, who answered that he would come to Paris at the head of 60,000 men; thus, ten years after the peace of Bretigny, war again broke out, Edward resuming his claim to the crown of France. Now the victor of Poitiers found more than his match in Duguesclin, made Constable of France. This Breton knight is said to have been in youth an ugly duckling, despised at home for his uncomely looks and ill-conditioned manners, who developed as a swan of chivalry, yet unconsciously, like King Edward, worked for its ruin. Daring in combat, and stiff in knightly pride, he carried on war in a businesslike spirit, preferring stratagems, ambushes, surprises, to showy demonstrations by which battles had been taken as tournaments on a large scale. It is a sign of changing times that such a leader should be set in command of princes and barons.

With him for its right arm, and Charles for its cautious head, France now began to reconquer the English dominion bit by bit, without risking a great battle. The English viceroy, for his part, who in the earlier part of his career had shown qualities of conduct as well as gallantry, seems to have lost temper as well as strength through the sickness that obliged him to be carried to the field in a litter. Always inclined to inconsiderate harshness towards the common people, he now stained his name by downright cruelty in ordering a massacre of the population of Limoges, whose crime was to have irritated him by going over to the French side, then by obstinate resistance to his arms. This atrocity is condemned by Froissart, who, as a churchman, had touches of pity for the innocent victims of war. His account of the capture shows how gunpowder was already used in sieging operations.

About the space of a month or more was the prince of Wales before the city of Limoges, and there was neither assult nor scrimmish, but daily they mined. And they within knew well how they were mined, and made a countermine there against to have destroyed the English miners; but they failed of their mine. And when the prince's miners saw how the countermine against them failed, they said to the prince: "Sir, whensoever it shall please you we shall cause a part of the wall to fall into the dikes, whereby ye shall enter into the city at your ease without any danger." Which words pleased greatly the prince, and [he] said: "I will that to-morrow betimes ye shew forth and execute your work." Then the miners set fire into their mine, and so the next morning, as the prince had ordained, there fell down a great pane of the wall and filled the dikes, whereof the Englishmen were glad and were ready armed in the field to enter into the town. The foot-men might well enter at their

ease, and so they did and ran to the gate and beat down the fortifying and barriers, for there was no defence against them: it was done so suddenly that they of the town were not ware thereof. Then the prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, the earl of Pembroke, sir Guichard d'Angle and all the other with their companies entered into the city, and all other footmen, ready apparelled to do evil, and to pill and rob the city, and to slay men, women, and children, for so it was commanded them to do. It was great pity to see the men, women, and children that kneeled down on their knees before the prince for mercy; but he was so inflamed with ire, that he took no heed to them, so that none was heard, but all put to death, as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable. There was no pity taken of the poor people, who wrought never no manner of treason, yet they bought it dearer than the great personages, such as had done the evil and trespass. There was not so hard a heart within the city of Limoges, and if he had any remembrance of God, but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyen: for more than three thousand men, women, and children were slain and beheaded that day. God have mercy on their souls, for I trow they were martyrs.—Froissart's *Chronicles*; Lord Berners' Translation.

In A.D. 1371 the Black Prince, broken down by ill health, went home to England, his place being taken by his brother, John of Gaunt, so styled as having been born at Ghent. By marriage with the heiress of the Duke of Lancaster he had succeeded to that wealthy noble's title and estates, then in right of his second wife, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, he took an empty pretension as king of Castile. The most able of Edward's sons, he had no success in this war. His claims on Castile were roughly refuted by a Spanish fleet that, defeating the forefathers of Nelson, cut off communications between England and her dwindling dependency. He marched far into France, in vain challenging to another Crécy or Poitiers the now cautious adversaries who shrank into fortified towns; then winter sent him back discomfited, while his subjects, more and more exasperated by the devastation of their country, rose to welcome the always advancing French. They regained ground so steadily that in two or three years after the Prince of Wales's departure the English conquests were reduced to little more than Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne.

The sun of Edward's glory was setting in gloomy clouds. A parliament, in which now the English language began to be used instead of French, spoke out the temper of an oppressed people no longer dazzled by victories. Both France and England, exhausted by war, were forced to a truce, broken by spurts of hostility that kept their ill will to each other alive. All the king's ambitious projects were coming to naught. His second son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Edward had hoped to make king of Scotland after the death of David Bruce; but that compliant prince was succeeded by the Stewarts, to place more resolute enemies on England's northern frontier. Lionel, who had failed as governor of Ireland, Edward next thought to provide for by a rich marriage with a daughter of the Visconti; and he was wedded with great pomp at Milan, Geof-

frey Chaucer, it is believed, going to Italy in his train; but soon the princely bridegroom died, through dissipation as likely as by poison, to which his death was sure to be attributed. About the same time as her favourite son, died Queen Philippa, the best of the family. After losing her, Edward, never a model of conjugal fidelity, fell under the influence of his mistress, Alice Perrers, whose control of the king's dotage was disgracefully shared by John of Gaunt. The Black Prince headed an opposite party, till he, having lost popularity as well as health and spirit, died in 1376. In a year his father followed him to the grave. John of Gaunt had been suspected of intriguing to set aside his brother's son in his own favour, but he contented himself with a regency under which the boy king, Richard, grew up to face the popular risings led by John Ball and Wat Tyler. Another reign would pass before England was strong enough to press the Hundred Years' War on foreign soil.

CHAPTER XI

The Maid of Orleans (A.D. 1412–1431)

For a generation the Hundred Years' War languished through internal discords on both sides of the channel. Richard II was inclined to peace with France; then his supplanter, Henry IV, had to deal with Welsh insurrection, fomented by France, and with other shakings of his insecure throne. France was paralysed by the folly of its young king, Charles VI, who soon went mad outright, with occasional gleams of comparative sanity.[1] The government passed into the hands of his uncles, of whom the most able and powerful was the Duke of Burgundy, by marriage become the heir of rich Flanders. This dominant prince fell out with the Duke of Orleans, the king's brother; and their rivalry was continued by the next Duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless. He had Orleans murdered in Paris, where the poor king and his frivolous son were puppets of such ambitious grandees, allying themselves with popular factions. The most resolute partisan of Orleans was the Gascon Count D'Armagnac, who married his daughter to the murdered duke's son. From him the party prevailing in the south took the name of the Armagnacs, whose opponents, the Burgundians, had more hold on Paris and the north; but all over the kingdom was a welter of feuds, in which ambitious men sought their own advantage. The central parts had been so often ravaged that it is told how the very cattle learned to run into hiding at the sound of an alarm bell.

All Europe, indeed, was in disorder. Some time before, the Pope had gone back to Rome; but a schism followed that gave the Church two and at one time three heads, while the heretical movement, suppressed in England, broke out afresh in Bohemia under John Huss, to be quenched only by long and bitter bloodshed. In Paris the University, now at the height of its power, undertook to lay down the law both to king and pope. Another authority there was the corporation of butchers, whose riotous outbreaks kept their fellow citizens in dread, and defied the fortresses of the Bastille and the Louvre, with which the court in vain tried to overawe this turbulent capital. Both the University and the butchers took the side of Burgundy, who thus was able to dominate the city and the mad king, yet not always fierce mobs easily roused to massacre.

The quarrel of Armagnacs and Burgundians grew so bitter that

[1] It is often said that playing cards were invented for the amusement of Charles VI. They seem, however, to have been known earlier, if now perhaps improved and brought more into use; and a device for stamping the figures on them from blocks probably led to the pregnant invention of printing.

both were ready to call in England's help against the other. Henry IV made some attempt at interference, but was disposed rather to devote his arms to a Crusade, a pious project foiled by his death (A.D. 1413). Henry V was of more stirring spirit, whose youthful freaks had vexed his father's anxious reign, yet helped him to popularity. In A.D. 1415 he boldly invaded France; then for a moment the French laid aside their quarrels to oppose the foreign intermeddler. Having taken Harfleur, Henry marched for Calais with some 15,000 famished and sickly men, to find his way barred at Agincourt by a French army four times as strong. It was the same story as that of Crécy and Poitiers. The English had to fight in rain and mud, where a line of their archers entrenched themselves behind sharp stakes carried into battle as a movable fortification; and again longbows won the day against deep columns of cavalry floundering in the mire. The loss of the English was counted in hundreds, that of the French in thousands; and in that age it made no great blot on the young king's fame that he had many of his prisoners killed in cold blood when the enemy seemed to be rallying for a fresh attack. Having distinguished himself by gallantry as well as generalship, he went home in triumph, the chief fruit of this victory being the hearty support of his people in carrying on the war.

France was again crippled by the loss of many of her nobles. Among the captives brought back by Henry was the Duke of Orleans, who, more notable as a poet than as a soldier, spent most of his life henceforth in England. The Dauphin was a thoughtless boy in his teens. There came a violent struggle for power between the Constable D'Armagnac and the Duke of Burgundy, neither of whom had fought at Agincourt. Armagnac managed to seize Paris, where he made himself so hated that the people rose to call in Burgundy, massacring the oppressive Constable and his adherents. While France wasted its strength in rankling bloodshed, the English king came back in greater force to overrun the duchy of Normandy, from which he could soon threaten Paris. With that conquest he might have been content for the present, and seemed willing to make peace on terms of marrying a French princess, with parts of western France for her dowry, when the French factions betrayed their country to his ambition.

John of Burgundy, in turn, was treacherously slain at a conference between him and the Dauphin, now grown to be figurehead of the opposite party, while his father remained in the hands of the Burgundians. In revengeful wrath the murdered duke's son threw himself on the side of the English king. Henry, married to a daughter of Charles, was recognized by Burgundy and by the queen as Regent of France during his father-in-law's life, and as heir to the crown at his death. He entered Paris in triumph beside the lunatic king; and this strange arrangement seems to have been more or less heartily agreed to by northern France as a relief from the evils of civil war. The Dauphin withdrew to the south, which Henry undertook to subdue, having already gone further than any of our kings in estab-

lishing himself in France. Like his father, he had in view to revive the Crusades; and had this enterprise been carried out under such a leader as the hero of Agincourt it might have changed the face of Europe by driving back the Turks now closing upon Constantinople.

But in A.D. 1422 Henry's conquering career was cut short by fatal illness, just before the death of Charles VI would have given him the half-disputed kingdom, and soon after Henry VI had been born to a weak and troubled life. This infant king's uncle, the Duke of Bedford, became Regent of France, where he actively carried out the work begun by his brother. The Dauphin, now Charles VII, sent his Italian and Scottish auxiliaries to be defeated at Verneuil, but felt himself unfit to take the field against the allied English and Burgundians. Falling behind the Loire, he held his court at Bourges, given up to unworthy favourites and to idle pleasures that seemed like to be interrupted on the advance of the enemy, for a time hindered by troubles in Flanders, and by disagreements between Burgundy and Bedford. On the Loire, Bedford besieged Orleans, the one great city standing out for Charles. The French had been so palsied by the misery and misfortunes of their distracted country that no vigorous effort at relief was attempted till the appearance of a champion whose meteoric career makes one of the miracles of history. So sudden and surprising a change of fortune was now wrought by a simple peasant girl that her exploits have been put down to supernatural power, a claim recognized by the Catholic Church in the Saintship bestowed after centuries upon one who at the time came to be best known as the Maid of Orleans, or the "Maid" *par excellence.*

Jeanne, or Joan, d'Arc, belonged to a decent family at Domremy, a Meuse village on the edge of Champagne and Lorraine, the latter country not yet swallowed up in France; it is even a question whether her home were not on that side of the border, so she might hardly pass for a Frenchwoman, as the name was then used. In a ballad famous for its refrain, "Where are the snows of yester-year?" Villon, born the year of her death, calls her—

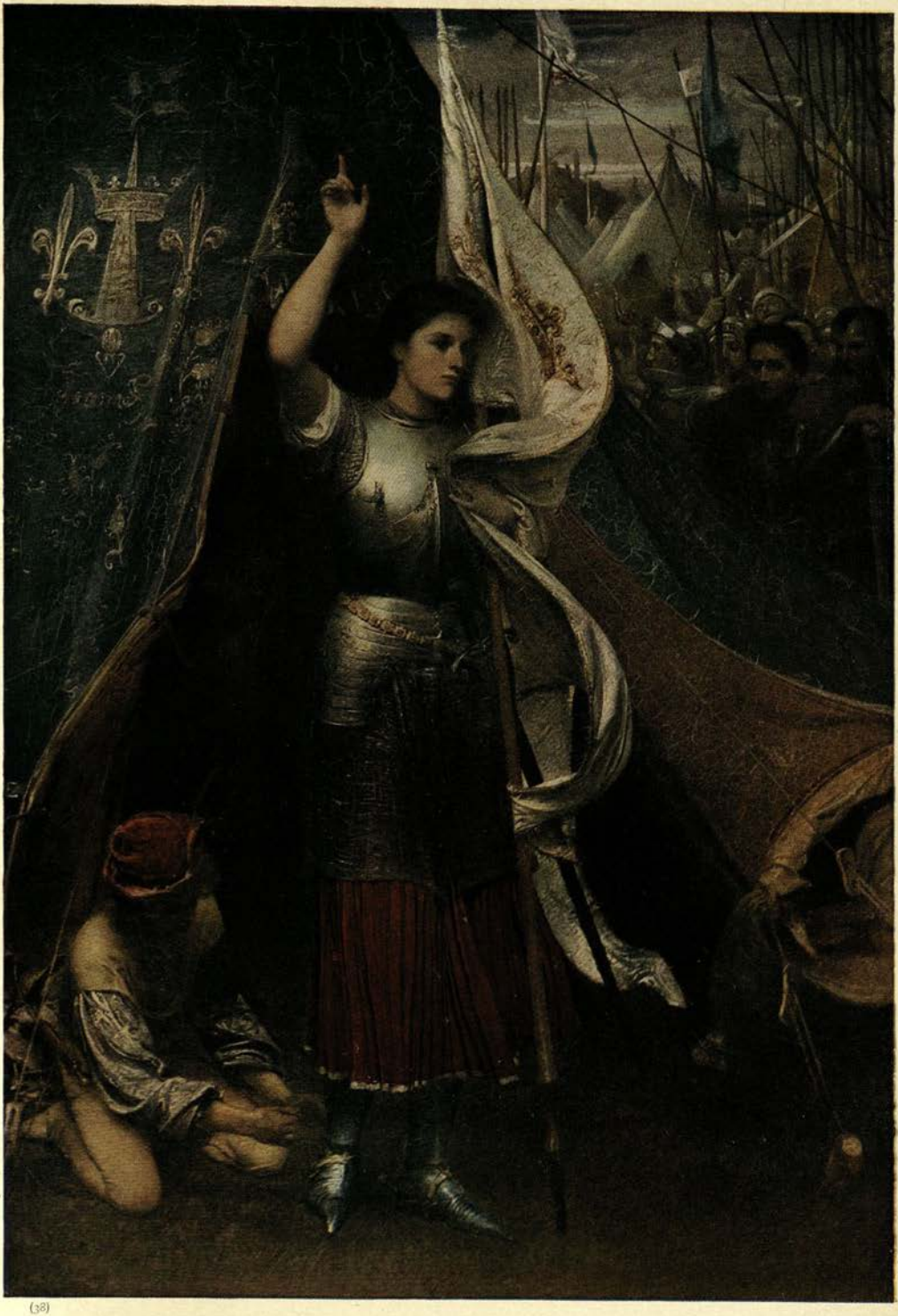
> Jehanne, la bonne *Lorraine*
> Qu'Anglais brulèrent à Rouen.

Her father seems to have been what in England would have been called a yeoman, and she grew up to a quiet life of household tasks, without any other schooling unless in the doctrines of the Church. But early she showed a turn for devotional meditation; and her heart was touched by the miseries of civil war, felt even in this quiet nook, to which came rumours at least of the bloodshed, robbery, and famine that wasted fair France, when 100,000 people perished in Paris alone. Her trances are variously explained by writers disposed to see in her an agent of heavenly interference and those that find nothing here but a rare phenomenon of human nature, or even a medium worked on by more crafty spirits. We may be content with her own story, that she believed herself from childhood inspired by "Voices", and

JOAN OF ARC. From the painting by George W. Joy in the collection of James Kenyon, Esq.

Mr. Joy's conception of the maid of Domrémy is unusual in that he portrays her not like an Amazon but as a girlish figure with religious exaltation on her countenance. The flag which she holds in her hand is the gold-embroidered flag of France.

Mr. George William Joy was born at Dublin in 1844. Another picture of Joan of Arc by the same artist was purchased by the French Government, and is now in the museum at Rouen.



(38)

JOAN OF ARC

GEORGE W. JOY

by angelic visions, at last taking shape as St. Michael, with a charge that she must go to the help of the French king. She was no doubt impressed by an old prophecy that France should be restored by a maid after being ruined by a woman—the queen that had given it over to her English son-in-law. The nursing of wounded soldiers who had dragged themselves to Domremy may have wrought her mood of exaltation to a head. There seems some uncertainty as to the exact date of her birth, but she was probably no more than seventeen when she announced herself destined to deliver Charles from his enemies and to lead him to the crown of France.

The king had a garrison at Vaucouleurs, not far off, to whose captain she opened this divine commission; then the rude soldier might well laugh in her face. Her father was moved to wrath, rather, when he heard what an escapade his girl had in mind; he even threatened to drown her rather than let her run off to the loose life of camps. The neighbours naturally thought her mad; a priest exorcised her as possessed by an evil spirit. But so earnest was her persistence that people came to think that there must be something in such pretensions, the more so when she is said to have told the same day of a defeat of Charles's troops near Orleans, that turned out to be true. The fame of the bold Maid spread on the wings of that old prophecy above-mentioned. Even the rude captain of Vaucouleurs was impressed; other gentlemen gave her help and countenance; and early in 1429 she stole away from home to ride to the court in masculine dress, which she may have assumed as protection to her chastity or as warrant of her high motives.

At the castle of Chinon, where she found Charles, he and those about him hardly knew what to make of this strange recruit. All along some of the soldiers had no mind to be led by a peasant girl; and the clergy were prejudiced against a female dealer in revelations, who could neither read nor write. The story goes that she won the king's confidence by at once picking him out among the crowd of courtiers; another story makes her rebuke a ribald swearer with a warning that he was near death, and immediately afterwards the man came to be drowned. Her enemies from the first accused her of sorcery. A council of doctors and priests sat upon her, to whose questionings she answered boldly, and was not to be silenced by their learned quotations. "There is more in God's book than in yours," she answered them. "I do not know A from B, but I come at God's bidding to deliver Orleans and to consecrate the Dauphin at Rheims." To that text she stuck so firmly as to gain over those inquisitors; then a great point was made in her favour by an archbishop's pronouncement that the devil had no power upon a virgin. The queen and her mother took Joan's part; the common people grew hot in admiration; pious hearts were more ready of belief than learned heads. It was agreed that she should lead the succour for which Orleans kept crying out, the more loudly when there reached it the fame of this promised deliverer.

Joan's first step was to have a letter written to the English, summoning them to give up the siege; she also appears to have invited them to join the French in a Crusade for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre: we have seen how the Crusading spirit showed signs of revival in the previous generation. At the end of April the Maid set out at the head of a little army, whose licentious manners she chastened to some show of devotion, and their march was like a religious procession. Attended, like any knightly lord, by her chaplain, squire, pages, and heralds, she rode on a black horse in white armour, bearing a white standard, emblazoned with religious devices and fleurs-de-lis. With a sword she had provided herself in a manner claimed as miraculous, having sent for it to a country church, where it was found, as she told, beneath the altar; but as she had visited this church on her way to Chinon, she may have needed no supernatural vision to help her in the discovery.

There need be nothing miraculous in the ease with which she entered Orleans. The besiegers, deserted by their wavering Burgundian allies, and by other bands that dropped off, had in the course of the winter dwindled to some 3000 men, according to the estimate of the French historian Michelet; but the contemporary chronicler, Monstrelet, speaks of them losing 6000 to 8000 men in the subsequent attacks. The English were certainly much reduced in numbers; and their general, Salisbury, had been killed by a shot, as Shakespeare tells, cannon playing a part in this long siege. Running short of powder and provisions, it was all they could do to hold the "bastilles", or forts, bearing such names as *Paris*, *London*, and *Rouen*, with which they blockaded the town, mainly on the north side of the river where it lies, but with some outlying works on the other side. The garrison, with the citizens, must have outnumbered their assailants, and they were commanded by tried soldiers, like the renowned Dunois, bastard son of Orleans. What they wanted was heart, which the appearance of the Maid put into them. She herself was for cutting a way through the English works on the north; but her experienced comrades deceived her ignorance by approaching on the other bank. Dunois came out to meet her; and it shows how incomplete was the investment, that with him she entered the city by night in advance of her troops, who had to seek a bridge lower down. She herself was ferried across, and with her arrived a convoy of provision boats, favoured by what seemed a miraculous change of wind and a want of activity on the enemy's part.

The heroine, heralded by rumour, was received in Orleans with wild enthusiasm as an angel from heaven. She was not so welcome to the captains, who ill stomached the idea of being led by a crazy girl, and were willing to keep her in the dark as to their military plans. Impatient as she was to attack, for the first few days she could do no more than come within earshot of the besiegers' works, summoning them to begone, and being answered by foul ribaldry and abuse. But before long she had her "baptism of fire". She

is said to have started up from sleep with a cry that French blood was flowing; then, calling for her horse and standard, she galloped forth to meet the fugitives of an unsuccessful sally, which had been kept secret from her. The first sight of blood flowing gave her qualms; and she wept to see men die without confession. But, girlish tears and fears soon overcome, she rallied the beaten party, pressing forward at the head of fresh assailants to storm one of the English forts. The slaughter of its defenders again shocked her; and she exerted herself to save the lives of some prisoners, whom she guarded back to Orleans. Foremost in cheering on the fight, she seems never to have stained her weapons with an enemy's blood, and could weep for the very men who had been assailing her with coarse jests as well as arrows.

Amid a jubilation of popular applause, some of the officers were still ill pleased at her taking so much on herself; then the next sally, across the river on the south bank, they tried to make without her knowledge and to keep her shut up in the town. But, when she found what was going on, nothing could hold her back. Foretelling that she should be wounded, she hastened to lead the attack on one of the English forts. As she placed a ladder against the wall an arrow pierced her shoulder, then for a moment she gave way to womanly weakness, shedding tears at the sight of her own blood. Taken away to have the wound dressed, she soon recovered herself, for at news that the assailants were falling back she again pressed into the fight, when her white armour and the standard she bore up to the wall inspired the French with such ardour that they stormed the fort, putting all its defenders to the sword or driving them into the river.

This exploit cleared the south bank of the English; and their commander, Talbot, was so baffled by the new spirit breathed into the defence that next day he broke up his camp on the north side, abandoning forts, artillery, and sick to the exultant garrison. The news of his retreat stirred excitement far beyond Orleans; the spell of terror seemed broken which the English had cast upon France, where the victorious Maid was now widely hailed as a heaven-sent deliverer.

A chief of more resolute temper than Charles would have been eager to seize this turn of fortune, as Joan exhorted him to do. Nothing is more wonderful in her than a mixture of exalted enthusiasm with good sense and even military insight. Now that the English were struck with dismay, she would have the Dauphin at once dash forward to Rheims, there to be crowned and anointed king, a ceremony of imposing import in those days. She herself would never style him as king till thus consecrated; and she interpreted the sentiment of her time in urging that he should anticipate the coronation of their child-sovereign by the English. Charles hesitated and trifled for weeks, while Joan with the Duke of Alençon led a small army in pursuit of the English retreat upon Paris. By accident, it appears,

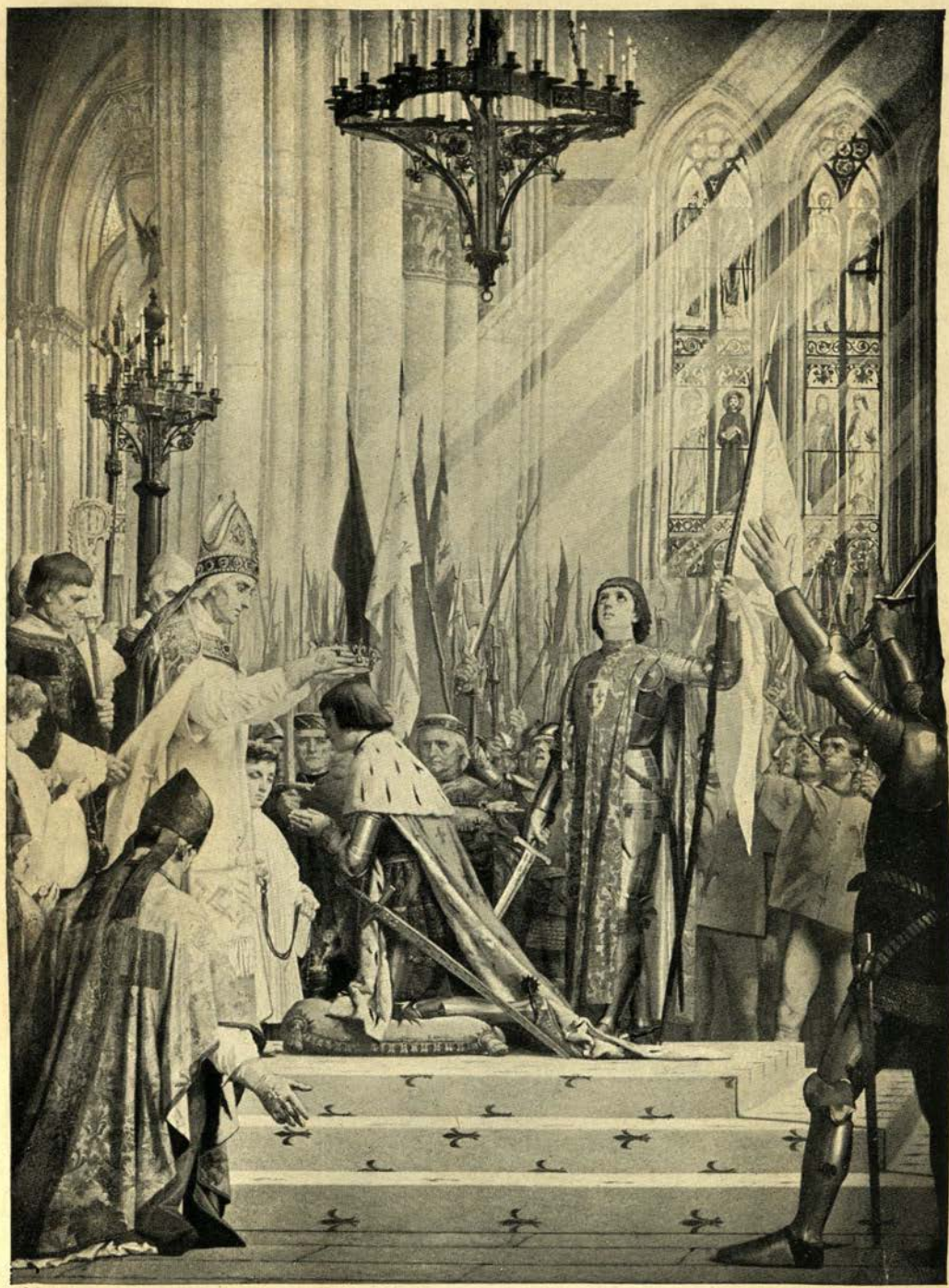
the two parties encountered in a wild country; then the English were so daunted before this Maid, champion of the devil as they took her to be, that for once they fled headlong in what was called the Chase of Patay, Talbot being taken prisoner, and another renowned name, that of Sir John Falstoffe, getting a stain by cowardly flight.

Such a success, a rout in open field of the irresistible invaders, seemed to set a seal upon Joan's commission. Nearly two months after the relief of Orleans, Charles, carried off his feet by the wave of popular feeling, was got into motion for Rheims. The English party did not attempt to bar his way; and towns on it garrisoned by Burgundians opened their gates at the summons of the ardent Maid. Rheims also received the Dauphin as its true lord, so in the middle of July he was hastily crowned and anointed in the Cathedral that is for French royalty what Westminster Abbey is in England. Joan was among the first to salute her sovereign by the title she had won for him; and if we know not precisely what part she took in the scene, its highest light falls all on that slight figure in shining armour that had been an oriflamme for the house of Valois. More than a mere *mascot*, or luck-bringer, she seems indeed to have been, through the mixture of qualities thus admiringly insisted on by Mr. Herbert Allport.

Notwithstanding her mysticism, she was a girl of extraordinary practical ability, and she possessed an abundant store of shrewdness and common sense. She was an ignorant little peasant, yet she knew how to bear herself in camps, in councils, and in courts. She could sway and subdue the rough men-at-arms whose life was spent in bloodshed and rapine, and she could match her wits against the subtlest lawyers and theologians of her age. She was a heroine of unsurpassed gallantry, constantly exposing herself not only to the ordinary risks of battle, but to the certainty of a death of shame and torture, if she fell alive into the hands of her enemies. And yet, in spite of all, she was a girl like other girls, delighting in the society of little children, innocently proud of her fine horses and her fine dresses, quickly moved to pity, and terribly afraid of pain. There are aspects in which she is the most womanly of women. There are aspects in which she transcends them all.

Here ends the first and most glorious act of the Maid's career. It is said that she wished to go home, having done her divinely appointed task. But she was kept with the army gathering like a snowball about the king, now recognized as legitimate, who might well value the services of one to whom he owed so much. Yet he showed small gratitude to the hand from which in truth he had received his crown; and the renown of the Maid with the populace and the soldiery only increased the jealousy of counsellors and officers whom her courage had put to shame.

So much she had done for France in about ten weeks, well earning the reward given her in the exemption of her native village from taxes, and the raising of her family to noble rank. It looked as if fresh victories were to lead her king to his capital. Now that he was duly invested with royalty, friends rallied to his standard, enemies scattered



JOAN OF ARC AT THE CORONATION OF CHARLES VII AT RHEIMS

From the mural painting by J. E. Lenepveu in the Pantheon, Paris

The sacred banner borne by the Maid was of her own design. The ground was white embroidered with lilies, bearing on one side the image of God seated on clouds and holding the world in his hands, and on the other a representation of the Annunciation.

before him, towns threw open their gates on the way to Paris. There was hope that Burgundy might be bought over, who for the moment had dropped off from his foreign allies, but was soon bribed back to their side. Paris and its English garrison held out against the king. At an ill-sustained and repulsed assault made upon one of the city gates Joan was again wounded by an arrow; then, to her hot indignation, Charles recalled the attacking force and presently fell back with his whole army towards the Loire.

This failure made a turning-point in the Maid's fortunes. She had prophesied that her course would last but one year. The king's prospects, so bright for a time, were quickly clouding, through his own indolence and folly, as through the reviving strength of the enemy. The English, mending their late breach with Burgundy, had been reinforced from home by an army which Cardinal Beaufort, practically ruler of England in Bedford's absence, had raised for a crusade against the Hussites of Bohemia. Bedford was now in such force, that prudent counsellors of Charles had some excuse for bridling Joan's eagerness for battle. She seems to have fallen in credit at the court, her ill-wishers setting up against her a rival prophetess; and indeed several Sibyls arose in France at this time, all coming to naught but herself. The wonder is that with such temptation to vanity she should have kept her head so well. There are hints that the rough life of arms rubbed off some of the delicate bloom of her nature, yet its purity and devoutness remained intact.

Fretting in the idle life of fine clothes and costly fare to which the court would have condemned her, through the winter she raised a troop to recover towns in the enemy's hands. The spring of A.D. 1430 saw her again in the field, though her "Voices" now warned her that misfortune was at hand; she appears even to have foretold that she would be a captive before midsummer; and no prophetic gift was needed to threaten a life so recklessly exposed. On 23 May she threw herself into Compiègne, beleaguered by an English and Burgundian force. The same evening, hoping to repeat the prowess of Orleans, she led a sortie, driven back, when the Maid was cut off, dragged from her horse and made prisoner, to the dismay of the town and the exultation of the besiegers.

The English had some reason to exult, whose ruffled pride, through the superstition of the age, saw in Joan a sorceress that had cast a spell on their course of victories. England must take shame for her part in what followed; but French writers are not fair when they would throw that reproach wholly on the foreigners. It was a Frenchman, or a Burgundian, who took Joan prisoner, and he handed her over to the Count of Luxembourg, a vassal of Burgundy. She was held for an enemy by half of her own country. At Paris a *Te Deum* was sung for her capture; and the University at once claimed her as a victim for the Inquisition. Such resentment was but natural where party spirit had for a time stifled nascent patriotism. The heaviest blame lies on the ungrateful Charles VII, who, inactive in the arms of his mistress, Agnes Sorel,

did nothing, so far as appears, to rescue or ransom his champion, abandoned on all sides to a miserable fate.

For months she was kept in suspense as to what would be done with her. The English demanded that she should be given up to them to be tried as a witch at Rouen, where they were absolute masters. They offered to buy her, but had to put some pressure on the Duke of Burgundy before he agreed to deliver a valuable hostage practically at his disposal. Meanwhile she was moved from prison to prison, finding some kindness from her keepers. Twice she tried to escape; the second time, when she threw herself from the top of a tower without being seriously injured, it is supposed that she attempted suicide on learning that she had been sold to her worst enemies. Not till the end of the year was the bargain finally struck, by which she passed into the hands of Lord Warwick, Henry VI's governor at Rouen. There she was harshly imprisoned, in an iron cage, it is said, with rude English soldiers about her night and day; then early in A.D. 1431 began for her the ordeal of a trial spun out over weeks. It is said that some of her exultant captors were for drowning her offhand; but their leaders saw the policy of stigmatizing this arch-enemy by a formal condemnation.

The president of the court was Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken, chosen probably as a strong English partisan, and throwing himself with zeal into the part of chief persecutor. To him were joined some scores of lawyers, doctors, and priests; but, since the number of the judges varied at different sittings, it looks as if many of them had no great heart in the work. What we know of her life is chiefly derived from the answers she made to the examination by which those pundits tried to catch an ignorant girl in some damning confession. To all their catechizing she replied modestly but firmly, sometimes with a touch of impatience: she told the story of her "Voices"; she stuck to it that she was inspired by heaven for the deliverance of France; she appealed to God from prelates and theologians; she prophesied fresh defeats for the English, her defence thus going to exasperate those who acted both as judges and accusers. Yet some sympathy for her seems to have been evoked in the court: and perhaps for this reason, after the first public sittings, the trial was carried on in prison by a small body of examiners. The official representative of the Inquisition, no powerful tribunal in France, showed himself reluctant in this persecution; and some of the clerical assessors went so far as to give the prisoner friendly advice that she had a right of appeal to the Pope, while others, as lawyers, had no difficulty in picking holes in the proceedings. On the other hand, some of the volunteer inquisitors were for putting her to torture; and her appeal to Rome went for nothing.

This loosely constituted tribunal was by no means unanimous in extracting from her answers a list of charges sent to the University of Paris as evidence for condemnation. Her English jailers grew impatient of the long formalities that delayed its foregone conclusion.

On them lies the blame of her harsh treatment in prison. She showed strange obstinacy in refusing to throw off her male attire; and this was made an excuse for denying her the sacraments in Holy Week. At Easter the Bishop of Beauvais sent her a carp, after eating of which she was taken ill. Poison was of course suspected; but all the poor prisoner suffered had been enough to break down her health. Even on her sickbed she continued to be worried by examinations, and the executioner was brought in to shake her with a threat of torture, but in vain. "Were I in the fire," she declared, "I could not say but what I have said." The University's verdict had now arrived, condemning the Maid as a heretic, on the part of the theologians unreservedly; but the faculty of law found her guilty only if obstinate in unbelief, and if in her right mind. At the end of May she was brought out for solemn judgment, when, after a sermon in public, judges and friends joined in begging her to abjure her errors and submit to the Church. Thus pressed, she put her mark to an act of retractation, in consideration of which she was mercifully sentenced to spend the rest of her life in prison, repenting of her sins.

This did not satisfy the English, even if all her French judges were sincere in consenting to spare the prisoner's life. She herself understood that by abjuring she would be taken out of English hands; but she found herself carried back to the same prison, where her sufferings were to be renewed. Having now consented to dress as a woman, it is stated that she was tricked, or even forced, into resuming male attire; another story is that she took it as a protection against the licentious brutality of her guards; then this failing in obedience served as excuse for declaring her relapsed. Again, also, she spoke of hearing her "Voices", which was taken as a falling back into heresy. It is difficult for us to appreciate the varied motives and excuses of those who had her fate in their power; or to know how far her mind may have been clouded by all she had undergone. What is certain is that, with the English clamouring for her death, the tribunal gave her over to the secular arm, that is, to be burned at the stake.

When this sentence was announced to her, she broke down, crying and tearing her hair in despair. "I had rather be beheaded seven times than burned!" Hitherto she seems to have cherished hope in some deliverance; but now she could only appeal to God against the cruelty of man. There was no more delay. The same morning, after the sacrament had been grudgingly given her, she was brought forth to the marketplace on a car, escorted by English soldiers through the pitiful crowd. A high pile of faggots had been raised, opposite two scaffolds on which she had still to undergo the ordeal of being preached at and exhorted. The conclusion was "Joan, go in peace: the Church can no longer defend thee". She was to be cut off like a rotten branch, delivered over to the secular arm, with the hypocritical formula of a prayer that it might spare her life.

The judges themselves, the spectators, even some of the English soldiers wept in sympathy with her distress. Men's hearts had grown

softer since with dry and cruel eyes could be witnessed a "Heretic's Tragedy". It was asserted that in her last helpless moments Joan made some kind of abjuration; but this is doubtful. She begged for a cross, and one of the soldiers broke a stick to improvise that symbol; then others hastily fetched a cross from the nearest church, to which she clung so tenaciously that the English guard showed a brutal or practical desire to hurry on the business. Torn from the priests, she was given to the executioner and made to mount the pile of faggots, where all might see her wearing a mitre labelled *Heretic, relapsed, apostate, idolatrous*. It is charged against her persecutors that the height of the pile was to prevent any kindly hand giving her some *coup de grace*, as might now be allowed at such cruel executions; a more charitable explanation is that she should be suffocated by smoke before the flame reached her. Some of the beholders turned away, unable to bear the sight. One good friar stayed beside her till she herself begged him to escape from the rising flame. As it reached her, she cried out for holy water; and she called on God and the saints till the scorching agony spent itself in silence, amid the tears of ten thousand spectators.[1]

Tear-dimmed eyes believed that they saw a white dove rise to heaven out of the fire. Others read her last word, *Jesus*, written in letters of flame. An Englishman who had sworn to throw a faggot on her pile was struck as if by divine judgment, and could not shake off his horror in the tavern to which his comrades took him for comfort; he had seen the white dove fly out of the victim's mouth. The executioner sought ghostly counsel of the friar that had stayed with her to the last: he feared to have had a hand in unpardonable sin. An official of the English king's court was heard to declare: "We are lost: we have burned a saint!" An English lord was quoted as owning her for a good woman, "were she but English". Such stories readily found credence in the popular emotion. It did not fail to be noted that the Bishop of Beauvais, the Maid's arch-persecutor, himself died excommunicated, and, it was understood, in sore remorse; that the priest who preached her funeral sermon became a leper; and that others who had a hand in her death came to no good end.[2]

[1] A comrade of Joan's, sentenced to the same fate ten years later, was indulged with a more merciful end, though convicted as a monster of wickedness. This was Gilles de Retz, original of "Bluebeard" in the popular tale that does not hint at a tithe of his crimes; and the nickname is said to have been transferred to him from an English partisan long remembered as a bogey in the same part of France, where his beard may have earned him such a sobriquet. Rich, brave, and accomplished, in such honour as to play a chief part at the king's coronation and to be made a marshal of France, Gilles had an insane lust for cruelty, perpetrated not so much on women as on children, whom he was accused of offering to the devil. He employed agents to entice or kidnap boys and girls, never seen again alive; and such was the dread of him in his own country that not for years could he be openly accused for their disappearance. When brought to justice at last, he is said to have confessed to a long series of murders, which rumour counted by hundreds. Yet this highborn ruffian, who, fortified by rites of the Church, talked of going to paradise from his fiery stake, was allowed to be hanged before being burned, nor was his body consumed, but given over to his relatives for burial in consecrated ground. In his favour it may be told that he seems to have been the only one of Joan's brothers-in-arms who made some attempt to rescue her from the English.

[2] A belief that she was not dead came natural in that age. Some years later there arose a pseudo-Joan, who emulated her martial feats, and was strangely owned by the Maid's brothers. Her father is said to have died of grief; but the mother lived to see her daughter's name brought to honour.

A curse seemed indeed to lie on the cause of Joan's enemies. The boy king, Henry VI, was brought to be crowned at Paris, but had to be hastily taken back through a country now made insecure by advances of Charles VII's supporters. By Bedford's death the English soon lost an able chief. His brother-in-law, Burgundy, then deserted them for good, reconciling himself with Charles, and with the Duke of Orleans, ransomed at last from captivity in England. Paris rose against its English garrison, which had to draw back to Normandy. Thence also the unloved invaders were expelled within twenty years after the tragedy of Rouen. Under a weak-minded king, it was England's turn to fall into the crippling of civil war, first in the popular insurrection led by Jack Cade, then in the more persistent rivalry of princes, when so much blood was poured out to water the White and the Red Roses. Her dominion in the south of France was wiped out by the taking of Bordeaux. For another century Calais remained to her, till its loss embittered Queen Mary's deathbed. All England's legacy from the Hundred Years' War was an empty claim to the crown of France, not formally given up till the reign of George III. And as to what France lost in that fruitless invasion, her eloquent historian Michelet has a heavy indictment to bring against the English, showing the seamy side of their glorious victories on foreign soil.

First, they had broken that by which France is France, the unity of the kingdom. This happy unity had been a truce to feudal violence, the *king's peace*, a peace still disturbed; but in its place the English left everywhere a horrible petty war. Thanks to them, this country found itself thrown backward, even to its barbarous age. It appeared that over and above slaughter of a million men, they had killed two or three centuries, wiping out the long age during which we had painfully built up this monarchy.

Barbarism came back, without its good points, simplicity and faith. Feudalism returned, but not its devotion, its fidelity, its chivalry. These feudal apparitions were like lost souls bringing from below unknown crimes.

The English withdrew in vain; France went on destroying herself. The provinces of the North became a desert, the heaths encroached everywhere; in the centre of the country, as we have seen, La Beauce grew covered with brushwood, where two armies searching for one another had difficulty in coming to an encounter. The towns, to which the countryfolk fled for asylum, swallowed up a miserable crowd, and were not the less desolate. Many houses were empty; showing only doors that opened no more; from these houses the poor carried off all they could to make fires. The city was burning itself away. Judge of other cities by one, the most populous, once the seat of the government, where still remained those great bodies, the University and the Parliament. Misery and famine had made it a focus of disgusting contagious maladies, not very clearly distinguished, but called at random the plague. Charles VII had a view of that frightful sight still named Paris; he fled from it in horror. The English did not try to come back to it. Both parties agreed in holding aloof from it. Only wolves came there willingly; they stole in by night, hunting for carcasses; when nothing more could be found in the fields, mad with hunger, they threw themselves on men. A contemporary, doubtless exaggerating, asserts that in September, 1438,

they devoured fourteen persons between Montmartre and the Porte St. Antoine.

Those fearful woes are expressed, as yet but feebly, in the "Complaint of the poor common-folk and of the poor labourers". This is a mingling of lamentations and of threats; the wretched starvelings would warn the Church, the King, the citizens, and merchants, above all the lords: "that fire is very near their mansions". They called on the king for succour. But what could Charles VII do for them, that "king of Bourges", that feeble and mean figure, that gave no hope of being able to impose respect and obedience on so many audacious men? With what power was he to repress those "flayers" of the country, those terrible knights of the castles? They were his own captains; it was with them and by them that he made war against the English.

From such miserable paralysis the first sign of recovery seems that peasant Maid. Hardly a Frenchwoman, she believed herself called by heaven to restore France to an unworthy king; and she was at least the brightest flash of a storm that wrecked the foreign oppression and cleared the air for a better spirit of national life. During her short career, half of those who spoke her own tongue looked on her as an enemy. In the next generation, after the English had been driven away, her trial came to be revised, and she was pronounced a martyr where she had been treated as a servant of the devil. In our own day the Church that gave her to be burned as a heretic has tardily taken steps to proclaim her a Saint; so the whirligig of time brings in its revenges. It was too long, indeed, before France did full justice to her memory, when Voltaire could go about to smudge it in a ribald poem, though as an historian he had to speak of her with serious admiration. His countryman, Chapelain, had sung her praise in a different strain; but not till poets of other countries, Schiller and Southey, had thrown over her a glow of romantic fame, did Frenchmen show a right consciousness of what they owed to Joan of Arc. Now she has many monuments, more than one in and about the scene of her execution, a city proud to call its chief thoroughfare by her name; and images of her have sprung up in several cathedrals since her beatification. Nor are the descendants of the strangers she faced so bravely, at whose hands she suffered so shamefully, the least hearty in acclaiming that once execrated enemy for a true heroine. In Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, she appears stained by ignorant prejudices still rife in his generation; but our considerate historians now make amends for old slanders, as when J. R. Green dubs this martial Maid "the one pure figure which rises out of the greed, the selfishness, the scepticism of the time".

CHAPTER XII

The Turks (A.D. 1300–1453)

In the midst of their own quarrels Christian kings had been still moved from time to time to undertake a Crusade, designs that for the most part went no further than intentions or idle professions on the part of Western princes, themselves out of danger from the encroaching Crescent. The position was changed since Godfrey of Bouillon and Richard Cœur-de-Lion carried the Cross into Asia. Europe now stood on the defensive against swarms of Eastern warriors threatening to overwhelm its border lands as in the old days of Attila and of Xerxes. Once and again such swarms had scattered or been driven back on the frontiers of the Latin and Greek Empires, till, during the Hundred Years' War between France and England, one Moslem power succeeded in fixing itself like a thorn in the side of Christendom, not yet extracted in our own generation. Till then Constintinople had stood firm through stormy centuries, as a beacon of decaying civilization, its light glowing and paling fitfully amid many revolutions, in the end to fade out before a lurid glare of invasion from the East. The story of its long adjourned fall cannot well be told under the name of any prominent personage, since this calls for a glance backward as far as the Crusading period.

While in the south-western corner of Europe the Saracens, here known as Moors, were still being slowly driven back over the straits of Gibraltar, at the other end of the Mediterranean their renown as bugbears had come to be taken by the Seljouk Turks, a fierce tribe from the centre of Asia, that grew into strength about A.D. 1000. Before the end of the next century they not only dominated their native region and Persia, but, subduing the Arab Caliphs of Baghdad, had conquered Syria, where their insolent oppression both of Christians and of their fellow Moslems provoked the first Crusaders to the deliverance of Jerusalem.

In their central Asian breeding ground the Turkish tribes were overshadowed by a thundercloud of Mongol Tartars, a name that ought properly to be written *Tatar*, but may have been corrupted in Europe through vague association with the classical *Tartarus*. They came to dreadful fame under their Khan, Genghiz, who at the beginning of the thirteenth century rapidly mastered most of Asia and pushed his ravages to the eastern edge of Europe. Turning back to complete his conquest of China, he died there A.D. 1227, leaving a vast empire to be divided among his sons. After a time their domination frittered itself away, the Tartars losing in luxurious power what they had gained

as hardy warriors; and they were won over to the faith of races they had subdued or absorbed. The western tribes mostly became Mohammedans, while those of the East received Buddhism from China.

The immediate successors of Genghiz showed themselves not indisposed to enter into relations with Christendom. We have seen how embassies were exchanged between St. Louis and a Tartar Khan. Other emissaries from the Pope travelled deep into Asia, where Europe fondly conceived the mysterious seat of a Christian potentate called Prester John, a belief probably magnified from vague rumours of oases of Nestorian Christianity now known to have spread as far as China. The first famous explorers of the East were the Polos of Venice. Two brothers of this merchant family set out, A.D. 1260, from a Venetian trading-post in the Crimea, to pass the Volga and travel on by Bokhara to the court of Kublai Khan, who, for a time restoring the empire of Genghiz, had fixed his capital in northern China. Here the strangers were well received, and sent back with a letter to the Pope requesting instructors in art and doctrine.

After an absence of nearly ten years the brothers came home to find the Popedom in dispute, which caused some delay in performing their commission. When in A.D. 1271 they could set out on their return, the elder brother took with him his son Marco, an open-eyed lad of fifteen. They were also accompanied by two friars, who soon deserted them, dismayed by the perils of the enterprise. This time they travelled by Mesopotamia to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, then by Khorasan to Kashgar and Yarkand and over the desert of Gobi, taking three or four years on their way to China. The Khan now welcomed them so warmly that they seemed like to have to spend their lives in his service. Marco, who showed readiness to learn the native languages, was taken into special favour, trusted with important missions, and given the government of a large province. After seventeen years the Polos were commissioned by Kublai to accompany his daughter to Teheran, where they heard of that engrossing patron's death, and took the opportunity to make homewards. In A.D. 1295 they reached Venice, hardly recognizable to their own kin after a quarter of a century's absence; but they soon found friends on sight of the jewels they had stitched away in their outlandish garments.

Next year Marco Polo was taken prisoner by the Genoese in a sea fight. During his captivity he dictated to a fellow prisoner an account of those wide wanderings, which became famous as our first authentic view of the far East. Contemporaries were somewhat disposed to treat his story as the proverbial traveller's tales; but the general trustworthiness is now established of a survey thus characterized by its illuminating editor, Sir Henry Yule.

He was the first Traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes; the Deserts of Persia, the flowering plateaux and wild gorges of Badakshan, the jade-bearing rivers of Khotan, the Mongolian Steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom,

the new and brilliant court that had been established by Cambalac: the first Traveller to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders, with all their eccentricities of manners and worship, of Tibet with its sordid devotees, of Burma, with its Golden Pagodas and their tinkling crowns, of Laos, of Siam, of Cochin China, of Japan, the Eastern Thule, with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces; the first to speak of that Museum of Beauty and Wonder, still so imperfectly ransacked, the Indian Archipelago, source of those aromatics then so highly prized, and whose origin was so dark; of Java, the Pearl of Islands; of Sumatra, with its many kings, its strange costly products, and its cannibal races; of the naked savages of Nicobar and Andaman; of Ceylon, the Isle of Gems, with its Sacred Mountain, and its Tomb of Adam; of India the Great, not as a dream-land of Alexandrian fables, but as a country seen and personally explored, with its virtuous Brahmans, its obscene ascetics, its diamonds, and the strange tales of their acquisition, its sea beds of pearl, and its powerful sun; the first in medieval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian empire of Abyssinia, and the semi-Christian island of Socotra; to speak, though indeed dimly, of Zanzibar, with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distant Madagascar, bordering on the dark ocean of the South, with its Ruc and other monstrosities; and in a remotely opposite region, of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean, of dog-sledges, white bears, and reindeer-riding Tunguses. That all this rich catalogue of discoveries should belong to the revelations of one Man and one Book is surely ample enough to account for and to justify the author's high place in the roll of Fame.

At chronic war with, for long even dominant over, their barbarous neighbours of Russia, the Tartars, though they more than once threatened eastern Europe, and carried their raids as far as the Danube, had but indirectly disturbed the Levant, by pressing towards it the fierce Moslem tribe that tore Jerusalem from the Crusaders. When the Mongol storm had rolled back into the darkness of Asia, in Marco Polo's time, a branch of the Turks sprang to fresh vigour under Othman or Osman, from whom they get the once-dreaded name of Osmanli or Ottoman Turks. He won his way far into the Asian territory of the decrepit Greek Empire, and by the time of Edward III had fixed a dynasty at Brussa, near the Sea of Marmora, so within striking distance of Constantinople. The Palæologi, last dynasty of Eastern Emperors, were in no state to resist encroachment upon provinces already parcelled out among shifting masterships. The remnant of their dominion was distracted by their family quarrels, in which they sought the interference of the warlike stranger that soon reduced them almost to vassalage. By the middle of the century the Ottomans were lodging themselves in Europe, where Amurath I (Mourad) overran ancient Thrace, between the Balkans and the Sea of Marmora, where he took Adrianople for his capital, so as to hem in on both sides the shrunken patch of territory still guarded by the walls of Constantinople. Here he received embassies from European states, when knights or

scholars might have the pain of seeing their fellow Christians haled in chains to a slave market.

To Amurath or his predecessor is ascribed the institution of the Janissaries ("new soldiers") who proved the strength of the Turkish army. Gathering on his fields of pillage boys made orphans or torn out of their homes so young as to be easily weaned from ties of kindred, he reared them in Moslem zeal, in barbarous fortitude, and in hard discipline that steeled these willing devotees of bloodshed to make formidable instruments for pushing such raids as had cut them off from their forgotten native speech and faith. Recruited year by year through fresh conquests, this force came to number tens of thousands, and grew in power, privileges, and insolence till from being the trusty guard of the Ottoman throne they looked on themselves as its masters, like the Mamelukes of Egypt, and like them in modern times had to be suppressed by a ruthless massacre. The Janissaries served on foot, armed with bows and scimitars. A cavalry, recruited in the same way, were termed Spahis, who wielded among other weapons a short and heavy mace. Such choice troops made the bodyguard of the Sultan and core of his army, round which he could call up a sort of feudal militia, always ready to follow his horse-tail banner for slaughter and pillage. These invaders of Europe soon had also troops of Servian, Bulgarian, or Greek vassals at command, who fought against Latin Christians the more willingly since they looked on the Church of Rome as hardly more orthodox than Islam.

"Amurath to Amurath succeeds", a poet could note in later generations; but the first Amurath, assassinated 1389, was followed by his son Bajazet, who took the title of Sultan, and by his destructive vigour earned the by-name of "Lightning". He carried his father's victories beyond the Balkans, and began to assail the outskirts of Latin Europe. Here had been growing up several young states, civilized and Christianized later than those of the west. The chief of them as yet was Hungary, its dominant people the proud Magyars, akin in race and language to the Turks, but organized as a kingdom under German influences while its throne had passed to a branch of French royalty. Round it lay independent nations, mostly Slavonic, with a sprinkling of German colonists—Bohemia, Muscovy, and Poland, the last at one time extending far into modern Prussia, and including parts of Russia, so as to form one of the largest kingdoms in Europe. Other Slavonic states, Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, and Transylvania were more or less closely in vassalage to Hungary, as was Roumania, whose name and its corrupt Latin speech still recall Roman settlement on the Lower Danube.

Threatened by the Turk, these countries called for aid on the western powers to whom they looked for models in chivalry. When their danger became evident the Pope preached what has been called the last of the Crusades, an appeal that could be heard in a lull of international war. As at the outset of such religious wars, France took a lead in sending out an army of knights and nobles

under the Count de Nevers, John the Fearless, afterwards that Duke of Burgundy whose murder cost the French crown so dear. Passing through Germany, they were joined by a contingent of knights from the empire, and in Hungary by a body of knights of St. John from Rhodes. United with the forces of Sigismund, king of Hungary, they made up an army 100,000 strong, the greater part cavalry, boasting that if the sky should fall they could hold it up on their lances. They were supported by a fleet of Italian and Greek vessels that entered the Black Sea to meet their advance down the Danube.

The French, looking on themselves as the flower of this host, made their common mistake of despising the enemy. In the belief that Bajazet had withdrawn into Asia for fear of them, they settled down to the siege of Nicopolis, a stronghold on the Danube held by one of his generals, which made more vigorous resistance than they looked for. Lying there, demoralized by debauchery and ill discipline, they heard to their astonishment that the Sultan had led a great army within a day's march of their lines. The haughty courage of the Frenchmen did not fail them, who insisted on their right to take the van of battle, while Sigismund, more practised in this warfare, vainly advised that his Hungarian infantry and light horse should meet the first skirmishing attacks of the Turks. The mail-clad knights of the west, making sure to sweep all before them, charged recklessly as at Crécy upon a line of Janissaries ensconced behind sharp stakes like the English at Agincourt. They broke through into the Turkish centre, but only to find the wings closing to surround them when pressed into disorder and charged by the Sultan's reserve. The head of the army thus being put *hors de combat*, Bajazet fell upon the Hungarians, soon slaughtered, driven to flight, or drowned in the Danube, down which Sigismund escaped by boat. Hundreds of Frenchmen remained as prisoners, among whom Bajazet picked out the leader and some of the chief men for ransom; the rest he had butchered in cold blood, as reprisal for a massacre of Turkish prisoners before this battle of Nicopolis, that (A.D. 1396) came to be spoken of as the heaviest blow to Christian arms since Roland fell at Roncesvalles in what was but an obscure skirmish so largely magnified through mists of romance.

Such a crushing defeat left Hungary open to Turkish ravages; and it seemed now as if the fall of Constantinople were at hand. The Emperor Manuel fled from it in despair, travelling to Venice, then on to Paris and London, in vain search of succour. On taking leave of his ransomed captives, Bajazet, with a pride equal to their own, had scorned to exact a pledge from them that they would not come back to fight against him: the sooner the better was his challenge, which the western warriors showed no eagerness to accept. But relief came from another quarter, through a fresh *simoom* of conquest whirling up in rear of the Turks.

Another Mongol master of Central Asia had arisen, Timour the Lame, known in Europe as Tamerlane, whose tomb may still be seen at his capital, Samarcand, among noble structures of his reign that

show him no mere barbarian. Fierce and fanatical, he aimed at ruling with justice as well as glory: a boast ascribed to him was that under his rule a child might safely carry a purse of gold through Asia. Beginning his career of conquest about A.D. 1370, in the lifetime of a generation he had trampled down all neighbour states and cities from Russia to the great wall of China, and as far south as the Ganges. Now at the end of the fourteenth century he marched upon the Turkish dominions of Asia Minor. Flushed with his European victories, Bajazet turned back to face this rival in destruction, who on the ruins of Baghdad had built a pyramid of 90,000 human skulls. More than a million warriors are said to have met on the plain of Angora (A.D. 1402), but the larger number rode under Timour's banner; and a hard-fought battle ended in the defeat of the Turks. Bajazet was led in the train of his conqueror, shut up in an iron cage, according to the legend, till he died in captivity.

The provinces of Asia Minor being overrun by this new swarm of locusts, Europe might well fear a not less terrible assailant. But Timour had no ships at his command, and Turks and Christians for the nonce united to defend the passage of the narrow strait that made an effectual barrier against his horsemen. Brought to a stand in the west, he presently drew back to Samarcand, where his restless ambition planned further conquests on the east of Asia. He was swooping upon China when (A.D. 1405) death cut short his devastating career. The rapidly won empire broke up in the hands of his successors, among whom his grandson Baber gained a more durable inheritance as the Grand Mogul of Delhi, a title now swallowed up in those of a wider empire that still holds "dominion over palm and pine".

Bajazet's ruin gave Constantinople a respite, prolonged by quarrels between his sons when the Tartar whirlwind had passed away. But by A.D. 1420 the Turkish Amurath II again threatened the dwindling citadel of the empire, which as yet could be defended against him. As price of assistance from the west, the emperor, John Palæologus VII, offered a union between the Greek and the Latin Churches, sundered by metaphysical controversies as by points of ritual and discipline. The Church of Rome was hardly in a position to discuss unity, being for the last time divided between rival popes. But in A.D. 1439 Pope Eugenius made his title good by presiding at Florence over a council that believed itself to have reconciled the differences between Eastern and Western faith. This treaty of union, however, hardly took effect, being rejected by the bigotry of the Greeks. The Pope rewarded his promised new adherents by preaching a Crusade in their favour; but his appeal now met with little response except from the Poles and Hungarians, who lay most exposed to Turkish advances in Europe. These nations, for the time united under the gallant young king Ladislas, were at first successful in an attack on Bulgaria that drove the Sultan to a truce, rashly broken by Ladislas, who with diminished forces pushed on to Varna on the shore of the Black Sea, there to fall in a sanguinary battle A.D. 1444.

(59.

MOHAMMED II

From the painting by Gentile Bellini in the Sir A. H. Layard Collection, Venice

Mohammed II having by accident seen some of Bellini's works, invited the painter to visit his Court, where, in 1479, he was received with particular favour. He painted portraits of the Sultan and Sultana, which gave great satisfaction, and returned to Venice, after about a year's absence, laden with honours.

Amurath II, an able and conscientious ruler, had the singular lot of twice abdicating his power and twice resuming it to save his people, in danger of being pressed back out of Europe by champions like Ladislas, his general Huniades, and the Albanian hero Scanderbeg. His son, Mohammed II, was of fiercer spirit, who soon showed eagerness to close upon the fragment of the Greek Empire still styling itself "Roman". A year after his accession Constantinople was blockaded by strong fortresses raised on each side of the strait, within sight of its walls. Next year, A.D. 1453, began the siege that was to be its agony as a Christian capital.

The last emperor of Constantinople bore the name of its founder, and in his fall this Constantine proved himself not the least worthy among the long list of Cæsars. But his valour was ill supported by the degenerate spirit of the citizens. Out of a population of at least 100,000 but a few thousand soldiers could be found to man crumbling walls many miles in circumference; and the best of these defenders were Italians under the command of the Genoese Justiani. A foreign engineer who did good service is called a German, but his name, Johannes Grant, suggests another nationality. A fleet of Genoese and Venetian ships was moored in the outer harbour, protected also by a strong chain drawn across it. Christendom gave little help, its princes exhausted by their own wars, the clergy alienated by Greek unwillingness to accept the union of the Churches. At this period of our Wars of the Roses the Western Empire was fallen to its weakest state. Frederick III, the last emperor crowned at Rome, had neither spirit nor strength for more perilous enterprise. Pope Nicholas V, with whom ended the period of temporary schism and anti-Popes, sent a Cardinal as legate, but he brought only a handful of fighting men. Nicholas further exerted himself to get together a fleet of thirty Italian galleys, which, however, did not arrive till all was over.

Against the doomed city Mohammed led a host at least 100,000 strong, not counting its train of camp followers, recruited from all parts of his dominion, and well furnished with artillery, old and new. He had had cast the largest cannon yet known, one of them slowly dragged along by 300 oxen, which is said to have shot stone bullets weighing over 1000 pounds. Some seventy guns were mounted against the walls, the most formidable artillery owned by any prince till now. Moslem soldiers never being good at gunnery, these huge pieces appear to have been served by Frank engineers in the Sultan's pay; his army included thousands of such Christian renegades.[1] Gunpowder

[1] One historian says there were 30,000 Christians in the Sultan's army; but the contemporary accounts of the siege are hopelessly discordant throughout as to numbers. The strength of the Turk was doubtless in his turbaned warriors, not yet tamed out of their native hardihood. In an account of Constantinople's tragedy M. Mijatovich, once Servian minister to England, translates from his own language a speech put into the mouth of Mohammed II, which we need not take for authentic, but it may well represent the Turkish view of an enemy that had too good cause not to despise this intruder.

"You have heard", the Sultan is made to say, "that the Christians have united against us. But fear not! Your heroism will be above theirs! You know well the unwashed Giaours, and their ways and manners, which certainly are not fine. They are indolent, sleepy, easily shocked, inactive; they like to drink much and to eat much; in misfortunes they are impatient, and in times of good fortune proud and

was used, moreover, in mining the massive walls; and both sides threw the "Greek fire" now being supplanted by a more serviceable explosive. Smoke and foul smells are mentioned as means by which the assailants could be driven out of their burrowing mines. The Turks also brought into play the machinery of medieval sieges, towers that could be rolled up to command the walls, battering rams for breaching, and ballistic engines so powerful as to throw a horse's carcass over the walls of a city. Froissart mentions one instance of such a putrefying missile being shot in; and to bombard the besieged enemy with gory heads, or even with a dead donkey, seems to have been a common medieval manner of adding insult to injury.

Amid a population panic-stricken by gloomy despair, Constantine's few soldiers held out for nearly two months against repeated assaults that kept them on guard night and day, constantly obliged to repair their shattered defences. In the middle of the siege they had a gleam of hope through the arrival of a small squadron of ships bringing men and provisions; then the Turkish fleet, attempting to prevent them entering the harbour, was signally repulsed, to the rage of the Sultan, who punished his unfortunate admiral with a hundred lashes. But this relief was a small matter, and before long the beleaguered city must run short of food.

Foiled in efforts to break through the chain that guarded the harbour's mouth, Mohammed carried out an extraordinary move which in turn gave check to the defenders. Over several miles of hilly ground behind the city he made a road of greased planks and rollers, on which, by torchlight, great teams of men and buffaloes hauled a long string of vessels under full sail, to launch them by daylight at the head of the harbour, where the Italian ships, probably of heavier draught, could not attack them, while they served to assail the city from a side hitherto defended by water. Such an undertaking had been accomplished to the sound of music, and under a deafening cannonade that may have hid its progress from the besieged, whose dismay on discovering it would be the greater as an old prophecy is mentioned that Constantinople would never fall till ships came sailing against it on land. An attempt to destroy those floating

overbearing. They are lovers of repose, and do not like to sleep without soft feather-beds; when they have no women with them they are sad and gloomy; and without plenty of good wine they are unable to keep counsel among themselves. They are ignorant of any military stratagems. They keep horses only to ride while hunting with their dogs; if one of them wishes to have a good war-horse, he sends to buy it from us. They are unable to bear hunger, or cold, or heat, effort and menial work. They let women follow them in the campaigns, and at their dinners give them the upper places, and they want always to have warm dishes. In short, there is no good in them.

"But you, my glorious fellows, you can show a great many good qualities. You do not think much of your life or your food. You sleep little, and for that you do not want beds; the earth is your dining-table and any board your bed; there is nothing you consider a hardship; there is nothing you think it impossible to do!

"And then, the Christians fight constantly among themselves, because everyone desires to be a king, or a prince, or the first amongst them. One says to another: 'Brother, help thou me to-day against this Prince, and to-morrow I will help thee against that one!' Fear them not; there is no concord amongst them. Everyone takes care of himself only; no one thinks of the common interest. They are quarrelsome, unruly, self-willed, and disobedient. Obedience to their superiors and discipline they have none, and yet everything depends on that!"

batteries by means of fireships was a failure, one of the Italian ships being sunk, from which the sailors swimming to shore were captured and beheaded in sight of the defenders. In retaliation for this, scores of Turkish prisoners were executed on the walls, now breaking down before an enemy that needed no inflaming to bloodthirsty rage.

No device of the besiegers did more harm to the garrison than their own quarrels, the Genoese and the Venetians, as ever, being ready to come to blows with each other in face of the foe pressing daily closer upon them. The mass of the people gave themselves up to gloomy despair, or to religious processions and prayers in the churches. In vain Constantine set an example of steadfast resolution, when no longer able to command obedience or harmony among his feeble garrison. Mohammed would listen to no terms but surrender, in return for which he offered Constantine a tributary principality in the Peloponnesus; but the emperor chose rather to fall with his capital.

Once or twice the assailants had broken through a breach, to be hurled out with great slaughter. So determined was the defence that some of the Turkish leaders appear to have been for giving up the siege, on a false rumour that a Christian armament had set out to succour the city. But the stern Mohammed rejected such counsels. His astrologers had fixed on 29 May as auspicious for the final assault. One night the Turkish lines could be seen glowing with countless torches, like a crescent of flaming flowers, or a fiery serpent about to close its coils upon the doomed city. Under that portentous illumination the Moslem warriors were being worked up to fury by goadings of fanatic zeal and promises of plunder for those who escaped paradise. Their excitement swelled to a climax in a resounding outcry, followed by sudden silence not less ominously appalling to the besieged.

Constantine's last day on earth was spent in devotion, in appeals for concord among his followers, in requests for pardon from all he had offended. He held his last council, and said his last prayer in St. Sophia before the wakeful night in which spies seem to have made him aware that the decisive onset was being prepared. A heavy cloud gathered over the city, breaking in drops "almost as big as a bull's eye", which senses dazed by horror could take for a rain of blood. At earliest cock-crow, or at dawn, the storm burst with a din of fierce shouts and barbarous music, with which the Turks rushed upon one of the battered gates, led on by Mohammed, "like an angel of destruction". They here met with such desperate resistance that for a moment it seemed as if the main assault might fail. But at another point more weakly guarded the enemy broke in, spreading panic and bloodshed. Justiani, leader of the Genoese, being wounded, withdrew from the fight, and with him went most of the Italians, to be taken off by their ships from the lost city. The Greek soldiers were overwhelmed by numbers. Constantine fell obscurely among a heap of slain. The Turks swarmed over the walls to pour through the streets, the terrified people flying before them to the altars of saints that could

no longer defend their devotees from the horrors of slaughter, outrage, pillage, and slavery let loose upon a city already half-destroyed by its many internal feuds.

The Turk in his fanatical devotion overthrew images and altars. Marble statues were ground to lime, noble monuments of bronze cast into cannon or coined as Turkish money. St. Sophia, the largest of Christian churches, stripped of its ornaments, was defaced by plaster as a mosque, as were other churches, some being left to the surviving Christians now brought down to slavery from their pride of wealth and culture. Constantinople was transformed into the seat of the Sultans, who hence for more than two centuries would threaten that side of Europe. Here, till our own day, the throne of their degenerate successor, "a wild boar tamed to a hog", has by the mutual jealousies of European powers been held up among the ruins of Roman state—the vast arena that once rang with the clamour of Blue and Green factions, a fragment of the Golden Gate by which triumphing emperors rode into their capital, and the tottering mass of the Seven Towers, broken through for the passage of a railway to let light from the West upon scenes of squalid and dusty decay—till now the power of Turkey in Europe seems reduced to such a fragment as it then wrested from the last of the Constantines.

Once firmly established at Constantinople, Mohammed was for extending his conquests into Italy; but as yet the Turk's weakness in naval power kept him from crossing the Adriatic; and even in Greece he had much ado to subdue guerrilla chiefs like Scanderbeg among their mountain fastnesses. The trading republic of Venice, with its mercenary Othellos and Iagos, now proved the bulwark of Christendom in a struggle abandoned by most of its chivalrous champions, only the knights of St. John standing fast at their island outpost. The Turkish power would soon be turned against the countries of the Danube. But in Italy the chief effect of its advance was an indirect stimulus to learning and civilization. Thither fled scholars from the overthrown empire, carrying with them teachings, books, and works of art that went to promote the study of Greek antiquity now being revived in the west. The semi-barbarous Turks thus proved unconscious agents in the movement of the Renaissance, by which Europe was awakened out of the twilight following its Dark Ages.

CHAPTER XIII

Charles the Bold (A.D. 1433–1477)

We left France in a state of miserable anarchy, from which her recovery may be but indicated here. Charles VII turned out in later life a better king than might have been expected from his foolish youth. By the formation of a standing army he was able not only to drive out the English, but to put down the marauders that desolated his country, and to hold in check the great vassals always ready to assert themselves against the crown. The feudal levies had fallen into the background, to be called up only in urgent need. The regular cavalry was organized as professional men-at-arms, each attended by some half a dozen lighter-armed soldiery, the whole group making up what was called a lance, so that when in old chronicles we read of 1000 lances, that means a force some thousands strong. The infantry was at this time known as archers, a name that, like that of *gendarmes*, came down to mean in France a kind of police officer, after their original weapon had been replaced by firearms. Cannon now came much into use, with advantage to the central power, when the king had a strong train of artillery to batter the castles of rebellious barons.

Charles's son, Louis XI, continued his work of military reorganization. He enlisted Swiss pikemen by thousands, and turned his father's corps of Scottish archers into the trusty bodyguard described in *Quentin Durward*. Scott's romance makes familiar to us the strangely mixed character of this unloved king. Born at the lowest ebb of his family's fortunes, in a school of adversity he grew up cunning, suspicious, and cruel, mean in his habits and tastes, by no means chivalrous in temper, yet capable of boldness when that seemed the best policy, and masking his crimes, even, it would seem, from his own conscience, by a superstitious devotion which procured for him from the Pope the title of "Most Christian king", worn so proudly by his successors.[1] There can hardly be imagined a more unchristian or more unkingly spirit than his who yet won a high place among the princes of his time, and for all his vices proved on the whole a benefactor to his realm, fostering trade and industry, while representing the turbulent aristocracy. As Scott puts it: "He rose among the rude chivalrous sovereigns of

[1] Our generation may have been misled as to the character of this king by the late Sir Henry Irving, who, in his rendering of Casimir Delavigne's *Louis XI*, represented him as a conscious hypocrite, uttering pious professions with his tongue in his cheek. Truer and subtler seems the conception of Charles Kean, when he showed Louis so seared in conscience that, at the summons of the vesper bell, he would automatically drop on his knees to pray, as dutiful interruption in the plotting of a treacherous murder. He makes, indeed, an awful example of an age in which religious zeal was so often divorced from righteousness.

the period to the rank of a keeper among wild beasts, who, by superior wisdom and policy, by distribution of food, and some discipline by blows, comes finally to predominate over those who, if unsubjected to his arts, would by main strength have torn him in pieces." "The Spider" was a nickname bestowed on him by those who saw how many flies were stifled in his cunning webs.

The chief enemy of Louis XI was not England, crippled by its Wars of the Roses, which from time to time he artfully fomented in his own interest. He had more to fear from the power of Burgundy, which we have seen weighing down the scales of the Hundred Years' War. The struggle of the French kings with their feudal vassals had been protracted by their own want of foresight in planting younger branches of the royal family in dukedoms that in turn might grow to overshadow the crown. Among such offshoots of the house of Valois the most flourishing was the Duke of Burgundy, at once a French and a German prince.

In his *Holy Roman Empire* Viscount Bryce points out how the shifting state of Burgundy had from first to last at least ten implications. Originally a conquest of the barbarians that overspread the Roman empire, for a time it became a medieval kingdom including part of Switzerland and of Southern France with its capital at Arles. The name was now fixed upon the central eastern province of France held as a fief from the French crown, while on the other side of the Saone, its lords owed allegiance to the emperor for Upper Burgundy, which came to be called Franche Comté, "the Free County". A memory of this division still lingers in republican France, where boatmen of the Saone and the Rhone distinguish the opposite banks as *kingdom* and *empire*.

But the Burgundian dukes' estate had grown far beyond these bounds. The founder of their greatness was the French Charles V's brother, Philippe le Hardi, who to his appanage of Burgundy had added Flanders by marriage with its heiress; then a similar marriage of interest for his son brought Holland and Hainault into the family. By purchase, or otherwise, it went on increasing its territories, till Philip le Bon, the duke who played a part in the Maid of Orleans's story, was lord of a string of states reaching from Savoy to the Zuyder Zee and curving round to the English Channel so as to include Artois and Picardy. One break there was in this chain of possessions, the scattered duchy of Lorraine, which by marriage had come to René of Anjou, titular king of Naples and Jerusalem, whose daughter Margaret, wife of our Henry VI, made up for his weakness by her own activity in the Wars of the Roses. Another daughter had Lorraine for her dowry, which long made a Naboth's vineyard for its powerful neighbour.

The richest, if not the most loyal, part of Philip's domain was Flanders, whose great and numerous manufacturing cities made him one of the wealthiest as well as most powerful princes in Europe. On his marriage with a Portuguese princess he had taken on himself to institute the famous order of the Golden Fleece, in rivalry to the

English knighthood of the Garter. When Constantinople fell to the Turk, it was on him the Pope called to be champion of Christendom, as his father, John the Fearless, had been before him; and Philip tried vainly to work up some enthusiasm for an enterprise now out of date. While other courts looked coldly on the project, at a feast, so magnificent as to be recorded among the wonders of the time, the duke's own knights bound themselves by fantastic vows to follow his lead. When he had his head shaved in a fever, more than five hundred noblemen, we are told, had their own locks shorn to be in the fashion with their master. No court presented more costly pageants nor more resounding tournaments than those held at Dijon, Lille, Ghent, Brussels, or other centres of this far-spread domain, the resort also of scholars and craftsmen to whom Philip showed himself a liberal patron.

Such a potentate was a king in all but name; and Philip's successor, Charles, had excuse for an ambition to rank himself among sovereigns. His design was nothing less than setting up on the Rhine and the Rhone a new kingdom between France and Germany—a design that could not but have changed the history of Europe had it been carried out with more prudence and better fortune than fell to the lot of this duke. Charles le Téméraire was the epithet he won for himself, ill translated as "the Bold", hinting as it does at a certain violent rashness that alloyed his courage. It is said that in youth he loved to think of himself as a second Alexander, also the son of a Philip; but this Alexander's conquests were destined to be nipped in the bud, and his career is a landmark mainly of what might have been. Charles le Travaillant, the "Busy", is another sobriquet given him by a writer who knew him well; but his activity was ill spent in strutting and fretting for ten years as the most showy figure on the European stage.

Born at Dijon A.D. 1433, in his father's lifetime Charles was entitled the Count of Charolais. In his cradle had been conferred on him the Order of the Golden Fleece, bestowed upon ordinary men only for some signal feat of arms. The duke's two former wives having died childless, much was made of this hope of the race both by his father and his mother, Isabella of Portugal. He was carefully educated among a band of noble youths who formed a juvenile household for their future lord. Two of the chroniclers of this period grew up as pages at his father's court, Philip de Comines and Olivier de la Marche. The former, who won the name of being first of contemporary historians, is a chief authority for the events of Charles's life. The latter, a few years older than his young master, gives this account of what seemed a hopeful disposition, perhaps a little flattered in the eyes of a courtier.

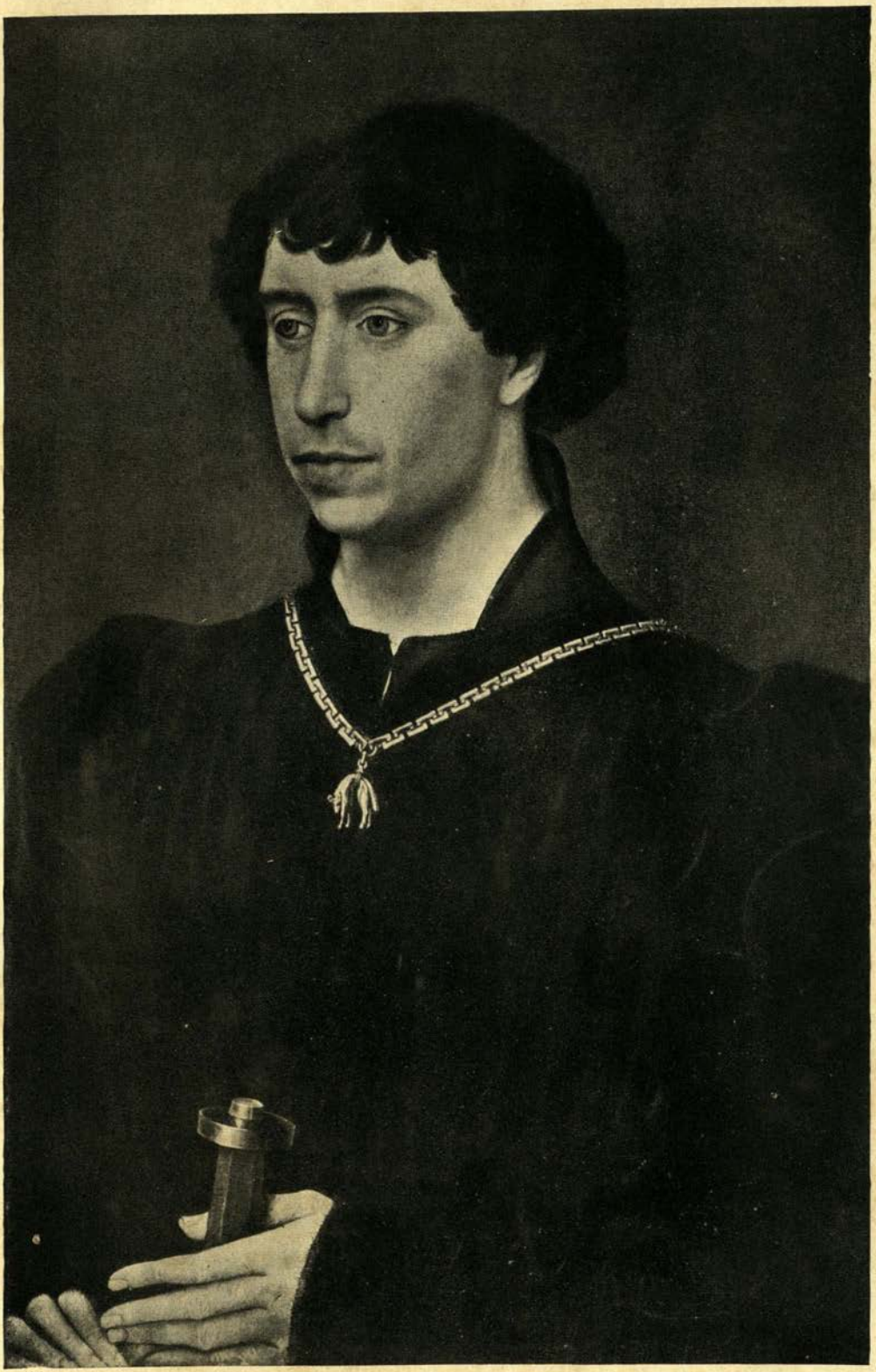
As for his character, I will begin by telling the worst of it. He was hot-tempered, restless, and peevish; as a boy, he liked his own way in small matters. Yet he had such sense and understanding that he mastered his temper, so that in youth no one could be more gentle and courteous.

He never swore by God or by the saints; he held God in great fear and reverence. He learned his lessons very well and remembered them; he liked to read and have read to him, at first the amusing romances of Lancelot and Gawaine; and he held in memory what he heard better than any of his age. Above all he was fond of the sea and of boats. His favourite amusement was falconry, and he took pleasure in hunting, when he had leave for it. He played at chess better than any other of his time. He excelled his comrades in archery. He played at prisoner's bars, in the Picardy manner, and could knock over all his playfellows. . . . Thus grew up the Count, and was reared, trained, and taught; and of his own accord he gave himself to all good and wholesome exercises.

In his sixth year this important youngster became betrothed to a daughter of the French king, by way of sealing the reconciliation of their parents. She, nearly twice as old as himself, had been brought to the Netherlands to grow up under the care of her nominal spouse's mother, but there she died before the boy bridegroom could be a husband. He seems to have been usually under the wing of his mother, living much apart from her not-over-faithful husband, who sometimes joined her, and was in the way of taking his son with him to the functions and ceremonies by which he asserted his widespread lordship. At the age of sixteen the lad took his degree in chivalry by bearing himself gallantly at a tournament, where one doubts if he could have justly deserved the prize awarded him above more practised knights.

His first experience of real war was when he accompanied his father on a campaign against Ghent, for the loyalty of those Flemish towns to their successive lords was always apt to be tempered by revolt. When Philip went to Germany about his abortive Crusade, he left young Charles as regent, to play the ruler with more self-confidence than judgment; then, on the father's return, they did not get on too well together. Charles, backed by his mother, fell out with Philip's favourites, the Counts de Croy; nor was he pleased with the wife chosen him, his cousin, Isabella of Bourbon, whom yet he obediently married, and seems to have made her a more attached husband than was the rule with princes. She brought him but one child, the daughter Mary who would be the richest heiress in Europe.

The jars of this family were trifling beside the quarrel between Charles of France and his son. Louis, exiled to his own state of Dauphiny, ended by running away to Burgundy on pretence of joining Philip's crusade. The duke received the dauphin well, gave him a pension, with the castle of Genappe for a residence, and treated him with respect as his future suzerain. There Louis remained for five years, amusing himself by the hunting that was his most lordly passion, while his father seems to have been not sorry to be rid of this froward son, of whom he shrewdly foretold that Burgundy was nursing a fox to steal his chickens. Louis stood godfather to Charles's daughter, and the two heirs must have known one another well; but it is doubtful how far there could have been hearty friendship between



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CHARLES THE BOLD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY

From the painting by Roger van der Weyden in Berlin Museum

such opposite characters, destined to be each other's worst enemy as soon as they came to their inheritance.

In A.D. 1461 Charles VII died, believing himself poisoned by his son, who hastened to claim the throne. The Duke of Burgundy and his heir accompanied Louis to his coronation at Rheims, where they figured prominently by the magnificence of their train, in contrast to the king's mean and unprepossessing appearance. Philip had expected, in return for his hospitality, to play a dominant part in France, like his father and grandfather, but soon found how the new sovereign meant no one to rule but himself and was little inclined to gratitude. Their first quarrel was about the towns on the Somme, held by Burgundy in pledge for a sum Louis now proposed to pay to a prince more desirous of territory than of money, who had come to look on this mortgaged district as his own.

The other great ducal houses were not less ill-pleased by the king's masterful meddling with their quasi-independence; so in three years his chief feudatories, among them his brother, the Duke of Berry, formed against him what they styled a League of the Public Good, which would have been little for the good of France had they succeeded in checking his design to consolidate and unite the kingdom, a policy carried out with such tricks and cruelties as to make him hated when it proved that he could not be despised. The Duke of Burgundy joined this league, but was now too broken in health and spirit to take the field. He let his son act for him in a hasty invasion of France, seeking to snatch Paris from the king, who pushed towards it with his well-disciplined army. At this time French kings did not favour Paris as a residence; Louis was much in the way of travelling about his kingdom, and latterly his usual abode was the gloomy castle of Plessis, near Tours.

Before being joined by his allies, Charles rashly encountered Louis at Montlhéry, near Paris, and there fought a confused battle that ended with both armies scattering in the dark. Charles, who was wounded, claimed the victory; but Louis had the advantage of slipping off into Paris, where with some success he laid himself out for popularity. The confederate army assembled near Paris, spending weeks in idle demonstrations without coming to an engagement. Comines, then a page in the Burgundian household, has an amusing story of how one day in a fog his comrades believed themselves to see a forest of lances upon them, and made ready for battle; but when the fog cleared away this enemy turned out to be nothing more formidable than a field of tall thistles. The alliance began to fall loose for want of an able head. It had to do with an adversary who never cared to risk fighting when craft would serve him. While negotiations went on, the king boldly visited Charles's camp for a conference, which led to the signing of a formal treaty more advantageous to the confederates than they might have hoped. Normandy was given to the Duke of Berry; the towns on the Somme were regranted to Burgundy; and Charles's friend, the Count of St. Pol, was made Constable of

France. Louis proposed to Charles to seal their reconciliation by a visit to Paris; but he, knowing his man, would not trust himself in the lion's den. It is a curious trait in these two princes that the one, deceitful and cunning, more than once put himself in his enemy's power; while the other, frank and rash, was not so ready to show the same confidence.

Having for the moment bridled the king of France, Burgundy was free to deal with its own disobedient vassals; and Charles marched upon the rich city of Liége, that, on a false report of his defeat at Montlhéry, had made demonstrations against his father. Liége was, in fact, an independent state, owing allegiance to the empire, and governed by a prince-bishop whose authority was often in dispute with its turbulent democracy. By procuring the election of his nephew, Louis of Bourbon, as bishop, while still a careless lad, Philip had thought to bring it under his thumb; but the citizens, chafing against this pretension, took every opportunity to reject the yoke he would have fixed upon them. On the approach of Charles's army they repented of their temerity, and agreed to recognize the overlordship of Burgundy. One town in the territory, Dinant on the Meuse, was excluded from the peace granted by Charles, since its people had earned his displeasure by insults for which they were to pay dearly. Philip also was so deeply offended that he had himself carried in a litter to witness the chastisement of the presumptuous town. In vain Dinant now humbled itself and opened its gates to the Burgundian army. At first wanton pillage was held in check; then, by deliberate judgment, Charles had many of the citizens executed, others put to ransom or sold as slaves, and an orgy of sack ended with a conflagration, probably accidental, that destroyed the whole place. Such were the examples often made of disobedient towns, which yet did not hinder others from rising against their arbitrary lords.

Next year (A.D. 1467) Philip died at Bruges, leaving to Charles his great wealth and multifarious territories, whose new lord was kept so busy that not for years could he get himself duly invested at Dijon, the original seat of his family. At once he had to suppress a riot in Ghent, and inclinations to revolt in other cities, secretly stirred up by Louis with the design of hampering his too powerful vassal. The duke's demands for money were enough to make the Flemish burghers discontented. Comines notes how the battle of Montlhéry had whetted his taste for war, and already he seems to have been nursing ambitious projects that obliged him to keep a strong army on foot. Though not so lavishly magnificent as his father, he held a state like that of any king. His wife being dead, he now married Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV, an alliance leading him into costly interference with our Wars of the Roses, that kept France safe from English attack. As it was the policy of Louis to foment those civil wars by giving chary help to the beaten party, so Charles, whose sympathies were at first on the Lancastrian side, felt henceforth bound to back the Yorkist house; and thus English history became involved with the rivalries of France and Burgundy.

Warwick, the "king-maker", having crowned Edward, planned for him a French marriage, but was baffled by the king's passion for Elizabeth Woodville. Making her his wife, Edward raised up her family against the Nevilles of Warwick, and thwarted their masterful head's policy by seeking that Burgundian alliance. Warwick revolted, at first in favour of Edward's brother, Clarence, then of Henry VI, whom he brought out of the Tower to be a puppet king. Edward fled for refuge to the Netherlands, where his new brother-in-law hardly welcomed him, but soon saw well in secret to fit him out with means for returning and reconquering his kingdom; then Louis let loose upon it Margaret of Anjou, reconciled to her old enemy Warwick. He being killed at Barnet, Margaret taken at Tewkesbury, Henry VI murdered in the Tower, before long we shall see Charles of Burgundy and Edward, now firm on the English throne, acting in alliance against Louis, who had in vain given countenance and assistance to the Lancastrian cause.

While thus making indirect attacks on each other, the rivals had nearly come again to blows on French soil. It soon appeared that the king of France was for wriggling out of the promises by which he had bought peace from his great vassals. He had mustered an army with hostile intentions against the Dukes of Normandy and Brittany, who appealed to Burgundy for help. Charles assembled his troops at Peronne, on the Somme, its castle known as the "virgin fortress", never taken till it yielded to Wellington after Waterloo. It seemed as if the indecisive war round Paris would now be fought out, when the wily king again did the last thing that might be expected of him. With a small escort he arrived at Peronne, risking his safety for a conference with Charles, by whom he was received with all outward respect. Then ensued the famous scene enlarged in *Quentin Durward* from the account of Comines, who was present as the duke's chamberlain.

In thus putting his head into a lion's mouth Louis overlooked the fact of his having sent messengers to provoke a fresh revolt in Liége, or its people had acted more promptly than he reckoned on. While he was at Peronne the duke heard that the citizens of Liége had risen against his puppet, the Prince-Bishop, whom they were said to have killed, as in Scott's novel, though in fact that tragedy did not occur till years later. Exaggerated as the news came, Charles had reason to understand who was at the bottom of this business, and flew into a rage boding ill for his guest. Lodged by his own desire in the castle, the king found himself a prisoner there, the gates guarded by Burgundian troops; around him he saw frowning faces, and what increased his fear was the sight of a gloomy tower in which one of his predecessors had been murdered long ago. A few of his attendants were allowed admission, from whom he learned of the duke's rage against him; but all he could do for his defence was an attempt to bribe some of the Burgundian counsellors.

For two or three days Charles continued in a state of mind that

needed only a little encouragement to order the king's death, violating a safe-conduct given him. Then the duke's temper began to cool, and he listened to a majority of the council which advised that Louis should be let go on condition of again swearing peace on much the same terms as before. What happened next we see through the eyes of Comines.

The third night after this had happened, the Duke of Burgundy did not pull off his clothes, but only threw himself twice or thrice upon the bed, and then got up again and walked about, as his custom was when anything vexed him. I lay that night in his chamber, and walked several turns with him. The next morning he was in a greater passion than ever, threatening exceedingly, and ready to put some great thing in execution; but, at last, he recollected himself, and it came to this result: that if the king would swear to the peace, and accompany him to Liége, and assist him to revenge the injuries which they had done him and the Bishop of Liége, his kinsman, he would be contented. Having resolved on this, he went immediately to the king's chamber, to acquaint him with his resolutions himself. The king had some friend[1] or other who had given him notice of it before, and assured him that his person would be in no manner of danger, provided he would consent to those points; but that if he refused, he would run himself into so great danger, that nothing in the world could be greater. When the duke came into his presence, his voice trembled, by the violence of his passion, so inclinable was he to be angry again. However, he made a low reverence with his body, but his gesture and words were sharp, demanding of the king if he would sign the peace as it was agreed and written, and swear to it when he had done.

Olivier de la Marche, who seems to have been also present at the interview, reports Louis as evidently in a fright: he greeted his scowling host with: "My brother, am I not safe in your house, and in your country?" and Charles put force on himself to reply: "Yes, sir; and so safe that if I saw a crossbow bolt shot upon you, I would throw myself in the way." In the end they swore peace upon a specially sacred relic, such as had power to bind Louis's slippery conscience; then the bells of the town rang for joy, as the two potentates went to breakfast together.

One article of their compact was that Louis must accompany his vassal with a small band of his own guards, amid an army thousands strong, to quell the rebellion of Liége, excited by himself. In wet wintry weather they laid siege to the city, the duke keeping a sharp watch on his ally, lest he should slip away or play any tricks. Their walls having been partly broken down, the townspeople defended themselves by bold sallies; and once in a night surprise both king and duke had nearly been slain or captured in their rough quarters; but Louis was defended by his Scottish archers, to whose valour testifies Comines: "They would not stir from the king, and were very nimble with their bows and arrows, with which it is said they wounded and killed more of the Burgundians than of the enemy". Next day Liége was stormed, and Louis had to look on while Charles

[1] Probably Comines himself, who may now have begun to think of changing masters, as he did later on.

cruelly chastised the citizens with fire and sword, the very churches being burned and pillaged as their reward for trusting such a prince. This execution done, the king was allowed to go home, and on reaching his own frontier his page relates how he kissed the ground in thankfulness to be free. So keenly did he resent such a humiliating experience that his counsellor, Cardinal Balue, who had ill advised him to the meeting at Peronne, he caused to be shut up for years in a narrow iron cage where a man could neither stand nor lie. A vague tradition represents such a torturing device as the invention of the Cardinal himself, or of some other prelate who was among its first victims, as the Regent Morton was beheaded by the "Maiden" he introduced into Scotland, and as fabling history has made Dr. Guillotin die by the instrument that ensanguines his name.

No sooner was Louis his own master than he fell to the old game of circumventing his late ally and evading the engagements he had made at Peronne. He had promised his brother, instead of Normandy, to give him Champagne as appanage, but now persuaded him to accept Guienne instead, a southern province that would keep him aloof from the dangerous neighbour in the north. This prince seemed contented to abandon his alliance with Burgundy, and presently he died, not without suspicion that Louis had him poisoned. Another old comrade who now failed Charles of Burgundy was the Count St. Pol, who, made Constable of France, is accused of stirring Louis to the warfare which was his trade, and which he looked to turn to his own profit. Before long the duke was also deserted by his chronicling counsellor, Philip de Comines, who passed over to the service of the king, as if aware which would be the winning side in the end.

An ever-rankling cause of dispute was the towns on the Somme which Burgundy held in pledge. Charles was so excited by the Duke of Guienne's death that he broke his truce with Louis to attack him in this quarter. His first exploit was the taking of the little town Nesle, where some ill-usage of his heralds provoked an indiscriminate massacre. But when he marched on to besiege Beauvais, its people, with the fate of Nesle as a warning, made such a desperate defence that he had to raise the siege, the heroine of which, according to popular legend, was a certain Jeanne de la Hachette, who emulated Joan of Arc in her prowess. The Burgundian army carried its devastations into Normandy, till Charles, not meeting his ally the Duke of Brittany, as he had expected, grew uneasy as to what Louis might be doing in his rear, and retreated to the Netherlands. As soon as he was gone, Louis advanced to force Brittany to a peace, followed by a renewal of truce between the king and Burgundy. Their long-simmering war had been repeatedly cooled by truces, made for the winter months, or longer; and this time the suspension of open hostilities proved lasting. Charles, on the whole, had won more by force of arms; but all his advantages were neutralized or reversed by the craft of Louis, well serving him to disjoin allies whose interests were not closely knit together unless by distrust of their artful suzerain.

The restless ambition of Charles had already been turned in another direction. He was a German as well as a French vassal, most of his lordships indeed being held under the empire. It was important for him to bridge over the gap separating Burgundy from his Netherlands territory, and to that end he negotiated with Sigismund, Duke of Austria, for certain outlying possessions of his upon the Rhine. For 50,000 florins the impecunious Sigismund mortgaged to him a district including part of Alsace and the adjoining corner of Switzerland, which, like the similarly pledged towns on the Somme, Charles henceforth took to be definitely his own property. Farther north he acquired the duchy of Gueldres, by high-handed interference between its duke and his unnatural son, who had deposed and imprisoned his own father, then, as a knight of the Golden Fleece, this young usurper could be tried and in turn set aside by Charles; and he bought Gueldres from the dying duke. When next the duchy of Lorraine seemed in his grasp by the death of its lord, Charles marched his troops through it on his way to Trêves. There, at a gathering of the princes of the empire, it was understood that he should be raised to the title of king (A.D. 1473) by Frederick III, the long and feebly reigning Kaiser of this period.

The nominal business of this conference was again to talk of war against the Turk, which seemed impracticable so long as the Christian powers were at odds. The real subject of discussion was the ambitious claims of Charles, who had now come to despise an ordinary kingship, with an eye upon still higher rank. He desired to be elected king of the Romans, which would make him heir to the imperial crown. Frederick, on his part, wanted for his son Maximilian the hand of Mary of Burgundy, that would bring such wealth as her dowry, if Charles had no son. But the irresolute Emperor and his pushful vassal could not easily come to terms; the Electors also made difficulties; so nothing was done beyond investing Charles with his new possessions and giving him a kind of protectorship over Lorraine, while the question of his kingly crown stood over, and he kept the prize of his daughter in reserve for the highest bidder.

In the meantime Louis had been laying snares and stumbling-blocks for his old friend, whom he now hated and feared above all men. To keep that enemy employed Charles arranged with his English brother-in-law to invade France. But now the meddlesome duke must needs find cause for interference in the affairs of Cologne, and his attempts at domination down the Rhine led him to attack the town of Neuss, which defended itself so well as to hold him before it nearly a year, till he had to raise the siege that brought him into open quarrel with the emperor, and hindered him from carrying out his promise of co-operating with Edward.

In the summer of A.D. 1475 Edward IV landed in France with 24,000 men, a far stronger army than had won Crécy or Agincourt. But Charles, having frittered away his forces at Neuss, did not join him, and expected aid from Brittany also was not forthcoming. Edward advanced to St. Quentin, then his troops literally stuck in the mud

caused by heavy August rains. Louis, prepared to fight, was readier to treat. Upon a bridge over the Somme, at a barrier built for the purpose, an interview took place between the two sovereigns, when Louis talked over his enemy to a peace, on terms of a payment which English pride could take as tribute from France, with betrothal of Edward's daughter to the Dauphin. "The English do not manage their treaties and capitulations with so much cunning as the French," chuckles Comines, "but proceed more ingenuously and with greater straightforwardness in their affairs; yet one must be cautious and take care not to affront them." Among the soldiers cut off from beef and beer, *entente cordiale* was promoted by lavish entertainment at the French king's expense, from whom also, if we are to believe Comines, some of the English leaders did not scruple to pocket "gratifications". The two kings parted good friends; and Edward led his army back to England without loss or glory. Thus abandoned by an ally whom he had failed to support, Charles was fain to renew his truce with Louis, giving up to him his old comrade the Constable St. Pol, whose double-faced dealings were ended by execution. The frank and hot-headed duke now appears demoralized by his ambitious policy, driving him to treacheries and cruelties such as were turned to better profit by his unscrupulous adversary.

For the rest of his short career Charles had enough to do on the Rhine, where Louis kept stirring troubles against him, and in particular one enemy whom the duke was soon to find how rashly he had despised. We must here turn to look at a new nationality that without much observation was growing up in Europe. For two centuries, at both ends of the empire, had arisen confederations as sanctuaries of freedom defended against oppressive princes. In the north, Lübeck and Hamburg took a lead among scores of trading ports, that, united as the Hansa or Hanseatic League, formed an almost independent state, with an army and navy by which the Baltic was cleared of pirates, and predatory lords were kept at a distance. In the mountainous south-western corner, where cities were few, a league of brave and industrious peasants had likewise proved able to hold their own against haughty neighbours.

The Helvetian people, who came to be called Swiss, owned a nominal allegiance to the house of Hapsburg, with which, rather than with the empire, was their long quarrel. At the end of the thirteenth century the tyranny of a Count's *Vogt* or governor drove the three confederated cantons Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden to a revolt famous for the more or less mythical exploits of William Tell. The battle of Morgarten, A.D. 1315, secured the virtual freedom of this confederacy, joined by other cantons and cities. Seventy years later Leopold of Austria made a fresh attempt at subduing these mountaineers, to be again disastrously defeated at Sempach (A.D. 1386), where Arnold of Winkelried was the legendary hero who, gathering as many spear points as he could grasp into a sheaf upon his own bosom, opened for his comrades a gap in the hedge of steel, which once broken

through, the mail-clad men-at-arms could be overthrown and battered to death by those poorly equipped patriots. In Charles the Bold's time Austria had once more been vainly trying to assert her authority over the Swiss, whose independence was not fully recognized till the end of that century. They were by no means united in policy or sympathy; but under the leadership of Berne several cantons now joined to resist a domination threatening to supplant that of Austria.

These were the pawns by which Charles would be checkmated in the game played against him by Louis's intrigues, his worst adversary being his own obstinate and impetuous temper. We now come to the events woven into Scott's *Anne of Geierstein.* As his governor, in the Alsatian province mortgaged to him, the duke had appointed Peter von Hagenbach, who ruled at least too firmly for a people used to the loose yoke of Austria, and was accused of crimes and excesses perhaps exaggerated in the novel. When he tried to bring under subjection Mulhouse and other imperial towns on the edge of Switzerland, the Swiss took alarm for their liberties. Louis worked underhand at making peace between them and their former lord, Sigismund, to whom the artful king lent money to redeem the mortgage to Charles. Hagenbach's insolence provoked a popular rising in which he was arrested and executed under the authority of Sigismund, who reappeared in the territory when, for the moment, Charles's hands were too full to oppose him. While he obstinately stuck to the siege of Neuss he was amazed to receive a declaration of war from Berne, then to hear how more than 10,000 of his soldiers had been defeated on the edge of Burgundy by those presumptuous peasants he would have included as subjects for a kingdom still growing in his mind. He had made alliance against them with their southern neighbour, the Duchess of Savoy, whose territory he hoped to acquire, by fair means or foul, during the childhood of her son. Still farther south he had expectations of succeeding to Provence through bequest from René of Anjou, who, always a dabbler in art and poetry rather than a masterful lord, was now approaching his end.

Louis, for his part, desired to fall heir to that hitherto independent domain of Anjou, once a province of the old Burgundian kingdom. By the tricks at which Charles was not so clever, when he tried them in turn, the king steadily baffled an enemy he did not care to meet in battle. Now Charles had reason to make truce both with Louis and the emperor, when to his wrath Edward returned to England. Another foe, secretly encouraged by the French king, appeared against him in young René, heir of the late lord of Lorraine, who tried to shake off the Burgundian guardianship forced upon him. Charles overran the duchy and seized Nancy, which he spoke of taking for his own capital. When he felt himself free to crush the rude mountaineers who had dared to defy him, the Swiss began to repent of their boldness. They now offered terms of peace, proposing to supply him with a contingent of men against Louis, and pointing out how little he had to gain in their poor country, all whose wealth would not

ORDINANCE OF CHARLES THE BOLD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

This plate shows a page from an illuminated French manuscript in the British Museum. The ordinance was promulgated at Trier in 1473 for the regulation of Charles's military levies, and this copy was probably made soon after the event, for Charles himself. The miniature shows the Duke promulgating the ordinance in presence of his council. The border is composed of foliage in gold on a dark-grey ground, with the arms of Charles and his six duchies, nine counties, &c. The initials C. M. are those of Charles and his third wife, Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV of England.

Charles the Bold sought to build up a great middle kingdom from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, but he was overthrown by Louis XI at Nancy in 1477. His daughter by Margaret of York, Mary of Burgundy, married the Emperor Maximilian I, and this marriage laid the foundations of the Hapsburg greatness.

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ORDINANCE OF CHARLES THE BOLD (BRITISH MUSEUM)

buy spurs and bridles for his men-at-arms; but the infatuated duke would not listen. So eager was he to chastise their insolence that at the beginning of A.D. 1476 he crossed the Jura with an army 40,000 strong, part of it made up of Italian mercenaries enlisted in his service. He had also some 3000 English archers in pay, to set against Louis's body of Scots.

Against such a host the confederates could muster only about half that number, less well armed but more fit for winter service in their rough country. They came upon Charles at Granson, a little fortress near the south end of the Lake of Neufchatel, where, provoked by a stout resistance, he had hanged the captured garrison of 400 men. Before the battle the pious Swiss fell on their knees to pray, to the scornful mockery of the professional soldiers ranked against them. But when it came to close quarters the Burgundians did not laugh at the courage of foemen infuriated by the sight of their comrades hanging to trees. As far as one can judge, from the somewhat insufficient accounts of contemporary chroniclers, Charles made the mistake of engaging his heavy troops too far in hilly ground, where they were taken at disadvantage, and could not break the dense masses of footmen, bristling with pikes and halberts. The duke valiantly led on his troops to discomfiture; and when a fresh body of Swiss came down on his flank from heights echoing with the hoarse notes of two gigantic trumpets, known as the "bull" of Uri and the "cow" of Unterwalden, his army was seized with panic, the Italians setting the example of flight. Charles held his ground to the last; then he, too, fled, not to draw rein till he reached a pass of the Jura, nearly 20 miles from the field. "Ah, my lord," his licensed court fool ventured to remark on this shameful flight, "here we are well *Hannibaled*!" By this time, the high-minded hero had grown to talk of Hannibal as his model rather than Alexander.

His camp he left to be pillaged by the wondering victors, who also captured the strongest train of artillery in Europe. So little had the duke looked for defeat that he carried with him, as well as his treasure chest, the rich appointments of his household, such a large one that Olivier de la Marche fills sixty pages by describing its officials and etiquette of service: the duke kept about him sixteen squires, twelve pages, forty valets, ten physicians and surgeons, eighteen heralds and pursuivants, and a due proportion of chaplains and choristers, with so many cooks, butlers, grooms, and other menials that few cities could lodge them all at once. This retinue alone occupied 400 tents ranged around the magnificent pavilion of their master, adorned with silk and velvet, cloth of gold and lace, jewels and pearls of enormous value, costly plate, clothes, and arms; his chair of state was of massive gold. The tent that served him as chapel contained priceless relics, sacramental vessels, and ornamented books of devotion. The poor Swiss hardly knew what to make of this booty, roughly divided among them. Some sold gold and silver plate for a trifle, taking it to be copper or tin; and not always

was recognized the value of famous jewels, now lost to the house of Burgundy. The duke wore about his neck a diamond said to be the finest in Europe and to have come from the Great Mogul's crown; this was picked up on the field by an ignorant peasant, who, while keeping its case set with pearls, was for throwing it away as a piece of glass, and gave it to a priest for a crown, who in turn sold it for three crowns; then after successive sales at enhanced prices it passed to Pope Julius II for 20,000 ducats. The duke's hat, surrounded by a coronet of gems and pearls, was laughingly donned by another boor, who said he would rather have a good suit of armour as his share of the booty. Charles's sword was set with seven diamonds, as many rubies, and fifteen pearls as big as a bean. What more rejoiced the victors was 400 cannon, 800 of the "hand-guns" now coming into use, 300 hundredweight of powder, an enormous quantity of weapons of all sorts, 2000 barrels of herrings and other dried provisions, 3000 sacks of oats, and 2000 wagons loaded, we are told, *inter alia*, with ropes to hang the rebellious highlanders.

Louis chuckled to hear of his enemy's humiliation, which went so much to Charles's heart that presently he fell ill. He grew sick in mind as in body, suspicious of all about him; and whereas he had hitherto been notably temperate, he now seems to have taken to drowning his troubles in wine. But he mastered his chagrin so far as to send civil messages to the king of France, begging him to keep their truce; and before long he was rallying his scattered army to take revenge for Granson. Men and money were raked together; the church bells of Burgundy were cast into cannon; and a couple of months after the battle of Granson (March, A.D. 1476), Charles had encamped on the Lake of Geneva with nearly as large a force as before. In June he advanced to besiege Morat, that stood on his way to Berne.

The Swiss pikemen, dispersed to their homes, had to be hastily gathered together, while young René and other lords of the Rhine brought troops of horsemen to join them against the common enemy. The armies that met at Morat were this time almost equal in numbers. Wet weather which spoilt powder and bowstrings did not damp the courage of the hardy Swiss, who stormed Charles's camp with such impetuosity that again his half-hearted followers were put to utter rout. At Granson not 1000 men had been killed; but now that the confederates had cavalry to press the flight, as by the plunder at Granson they were well supplied with artillery, the loss was tenfold, no quarter being given to the invaders. Special hatred was shown to the Italian mercenaries, driven into a marshy lake to be drowned or butchered in cold blood. Again, also, the duke's camp became the booty of the victors, though this time not so richly furnished as before. He himself escaped, galloping off towards Geneva with a handful of attendants.

That crushing blow affected his temper more than his courage.

He first turned his wrath upon his ally, the Duchess of Savoy, whom he had treacherously seized, with her children, when she came to condole with him: he suspected her of being in league with her brother, the king of France. He had more reason to suspect Louis of designing to back the Swiss by an invasion of Flanders; but that arch-plotter judged best not to risk anything so long as he saw others serving him for the ruin of his enemy. Charles seemed indeed to be ruined. His fair-weather allies dropped off from him. His soldiers had lost confidence in a leader more feared than loved. When he appealed to the Burgundian states for an exorbitant tax, they were not tempted by the glory of a kingdom of Burgundy which he still hoped to establish if only they would help him to raise a fresh army. His Flemish subjects turned a deafer ear to pressing demands for money. Everywhere he had made himself hated by his exactions and by his arbitrary temper, now soured into such savage mood that his attendants feared to approach him. He fell into profound melancholy, not speaking a word for days. Yet his very name had still such power that his many enemies hesitated to drive the sick lion to extremity. The most dangerous of them, the Swiss Confederation, showed no bellicose spirit unless in defence of its country. For fighting elsewhere, already the rule held good: *point d'argent, point de Suisse.*

His most pushing foe was the young duke of Lorraine, who, supplied with money by Louis, raised a force to recover his inheritance and soon retook Nancy. This roused Charles from his sullen apathy; then in autumn he marched against Lorraine with a few thousand men gathered from the wreck of his army. Laying siege to Nancy in wintry weather, he soon had half his force destroyed by cold, hunger, and desertion. In vain his few faithful servants risked his rage by advising him to prudence. His harshness was now exasperated into reckless cruelty. Some gentlemen of Lorraine having been taken in an attempt to reinforce the town, he ordered them all to be hanged; and when Campo-Basso, leader of his Italian soldiers, remonstrated with him on such severity as against the laws of war, Charles was moved to strike this officer, who, already plotting to go over to Louis, now took the first chance of turning against his ungrateful master. It is said that one of the victims begged for speech with Charles, meaning to reveal Campo-Basso's treachery, but that the cunning Italian prevented him by hurrying on the execution. This was avenged by the hanging of more than a hundred Burgundian prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

Duke René was now hurrying succour to Nancy, but Charles's pride would not let him retreat before a boy, and he stuck to the siege in deep snow. It was a miserable Christmas day his soldiers spent, when hundreds of them were frozen to death or frostbitten, and a captain was hanged for giving fierce expression to their discontent. On the day after Christmas an assault was made and repulsed. Early in January René came up with his promised

succour; Campo-Basso went over to him; and though that chivalrous young chief scorned the traitor's aid, Charles found himself beset by three or four times his own numbers. He fought like a boar brought to bay; but not so his heart-chilled soldiers. The fight was short, the pursuit sanguinary, and so in the beginning of A.D. 1477 the might of Burgundy finally came to extinction.

For a day or two it was not known what had become of the duke; till a young Italian page came forward who had seen him fall, and guided the searchers to a pond where a dozen corpses lay stripped and frozen into the water. One of these, the face already half-eaten away by wolves, was recognizable by certain scars and marks as the body of that lord of six duchies and three times as many countships, whose impetuous ambition had brought him to such an end in the tenth year of his reign and the forty-fourth of his life. He had honourable burial in Nancy; but so strong was the glamour of his brief glory that the people of Burgundy would hardly believe him dead, and his fearsome memory long lived in the company of those enchanted princes looked for one day to return to earth.

Thus went to the winds that uncemented kingdom that would have made such a strong barrier between France and Germany. The spoil of it was divided between each of these powers. Louis, who had staked so little in the game of war, seized upon Burgundy as a fief vacant by the death of its duke without male heir. His only daughter, Mary, whose hand he had held out as a bait to catch princely alliances, after all married Maximilian, the emperor's son, and as her dowry brought the Flemish states that passed through her son to the house of Spain. Other lands acquired by Charles fell back to their old position as fiefs of the empire. The Swiss held their own; but their prowess in arms went mainly to strengthen foreign powers, when the brave sons of a poor land were too ready to hire themselves to rival princes for a mercenary service that long demoralized the young nation.

Louis might well rejoice at the death of his chief foe, whom only once he had met in doubtful battle. The few years he had still to live were miserably haunted by suspicion, remorse, and superstitious dread: the legend goes that his physician, or astrologer, escaped death only by announcing that the king was destined to die a few days after himself. But before Louis passed away in his prison-like donjon at Tours he had forced old king René to make him heir of Provence, and paved the way for an arrangement by which Brittany also soon passed under the crown, though with peculiar privileges and a sense of independence that made it long the Ireland of France. So this kingdom came to be filled out and consolidated by the most hateful of its monarchs, whose strangely compounded character makes such a contrast to that of Charles the Bold; and his reign appears like modern prosaic realism patched on to the romance of Joan of Arc and the chivalrous pride of that last great feudal lord.

CHAPTER XIV

Lorenzo de' Medici (A.D. 1449-1492)

In the days of Charles the Bold flourished another potentate who was a king in all but name, and whose blood came to be mingled with that of the proudest royal houses. This was Lorenzo de' Medici, the leading citizen of the most illustrious city in the most advanced country of Europe, that, largely through the influence of his family, became focus of the movement known as the Renaissance, prelude to reformations and revolutions whose effect is still at work in our modern world.

The fifteenth century was the special period of that regenerating stir in which the human mind seemed to rouse itself from the long sleep of the Dark Ages. Still earlier had begun in Italy the study of Greek, a chief agent in awakening intellectual activity; and what may be called a false dawn of the Renaissance had appeared in the Sicilian court of Frederick II. Europe rediscovered classical antiquity, long obscured by mists of monkish Latin. The example of old models put a new life into art, while philosophy and poetry were quickened by study of great writers of the past. Scholars showed more zeal for the spread of what came to be called the New Learning than most priests did for the teaching of their religion. Women, too, distinguished themselves in study, when the first lady doctors came forth from Italian universities. Instead of the sacred relics prized by an earlier age, rich men collected manuscripts as well as works of art, of which a large number, salved from the wreck of the Eastern Empire, were brought to Italy after the fall of Constantinople, by refugees whose knowledge of Greek earned them a welcome, now that this language grew to be the mark of scholarship. Princes patronized students, authors, and artists, who copied the old forms or were inspired by them for new efforts. Both in spirit and in letter, classical art and knowledge were translated into the vernacular. About the middle of the century the printing press came to Italy from Germany, not indeed hailed at once as a pregnant boon by fastidious scholars, who for a time preferred to its vulgarly cheap impressions the work of careful copyists such as had served the monasteries that were the publishers of the Middle Ages till universities in turn began to take up this task. The revival of letters had in the South come before printing, as Macaulay reminds us, while still England and France presented "a frightful spectacle of poverty, barbarity, and ignorance".

The study of the Latin writers had never been wholly neglected in Italy. But Petrarch introduced a more profound, liberal, and elegant scholarship; and communicated to his countrymen that enthusiasm for the literature, the history, and the antiquities of Rome which divided his own heart with a frigid mistress and a more frigid Muse. Boccaccio turned their attention to the more sublime and graceful models of Greece. From this time the admiration of learning and genius became almost an idolatry among the people of Italy. Kings and republics, cardinals and doges, vied with each other in honouring and flattering Petrarch. Embassies from rival states solicited the honour of his instructions. His coronation [*as poet laureate*] agitated the Court of Naples and the people of Rome as much as the most important political transaction could have done. To collect books and antiques, to found professorships, to patronize men of learning, became almost universal fashions among the great. The spirit of literary research allied itself to that of commercial enterprise. Every place to which the merchant princes of Florence extended their gigantic traffic, from the bazaars of the Tigris to the monasteries of the Clyde, was ransacked for medals and manuscripts. Architecture, painting, and sculpture were munificently encouraged. Indeed, it would be difficult to name an Italian of eminence, during the period of which we speak, who, whatever may have been his general character, did not at least affect a love of letters and of the arts.

Italy was the cradle of the Renaissance, and Florence was the Athens of Italy. This republic, central amid the other great powers of Italy—Rome, Naples, Milan, and Venice—had since Dante's day been flourishing in mind, body, and estate. She has been called the most republican of all republics, her public spirit dashed indeed by turbulent feuds and intrigues, and her love of liberty belied by the arbitrary rule she had fixed on old neighbours and enemies like Pisa, the subjection of which gave an outlet to the sea for her commerce. Through this she had grown to be one of the richest cities in Europe, over which her gold *florin* ranked as a standard coin among confused and often adulterated currencies. Woollen and silk fabrics made her chief industry; but her special trade was banking, carried on at the high rates of interest dictated by doubtful security. The Bardi house at one time farmed the English customs, much as Sir Robert Hart was in our day commissioned to collect revenue at the ports of China. But if this were as security for money lent, it proved a bad one, for the Bardi and another Florentine family were ruined by the failure of our Edward III to repay over a million florins he had borrowed from them. The revenue of the small state, numbering about 3000 privileged citizens, was larger than that of an English king. The merchant princes of Florence did not let themselves be wrapped up in business cares. They were munificent patrons of the artists that also renowned their city, some of these skilled at once as goldsmiths, sculptors, painters, and architects, like Giotto, the friend of Dante. In his day was begun the famous Cathedral of Florence, crowned nearly a century and a half later by the dome of Brunelleschi, when Florence was rearing famous masters in various arts. Her children,

SONNETS, CANZONI, AND TRIUMPHS OF PETRARCH.

The plate shows two typical facing pages from an illuminated Italian manuscript of the late fifteenth century, now in the British Museum. It is neatly written in minuscules of the Italian Renaissance type known as "scrittura umanistica", that is to say, "humanist writing". The miniatures, initials, and borders are by artists of the Milanese school. The arms are those of Romei of Ferrara. The illustration shows Cupid in a triumphal car followed by a long procession.

Francesco Petrarca, usually called Petrarch in English, was born at Arezzo in 1304 and died at Arquà in 1374. He spent much of his life in Avignon in southern France. Petrarch was equally great as a lyric poet and as a pioneer of humanism.

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SONNETS OF PETRARCH (BRITISH MUSEUM) ITALIAN: LATE 15 TH CENTURY

better schooled than those of the rude north, grew up, like the Athenians, with an innate sense of beauty of form and colour instilled into them by the daily sight of structures like the Baptistery with its bronze doors, the work of an artist's lifetime, which Michel Angelo pronounced fit to be the gates of Paradise; the Campanile, declared by Ruskin a supreme union of Beauty and Power; the Tabernacle of Orcagna; and the statues that by private or corporate liberality adorned churches and courtyards, as well as famous paintings which still draw visitors to this favoured city. "Since the Greeks", says J. A. Symonds, "no people have combined curiosity and the love of beauty, the scientific and the artistic sense, in the same proportions as the Florentines."

But while the barbarians of the north were gathering into powerful kingdoms, Italy still remained a chaos of distracted states, its people knowing themselves not as Italians, but as Florentines, Venetians, Neapolitans, and so forth, separated from each other by their animosities, by their different forms of government, and by their varying dialects, among which the Tuscan came to rank as the standard literary form. In one art this cultured people was ill practised, that which almost monopolized the attention of trans-alpine Europe. Industrious citizens had fallen much out of the way of fighting, unless in the sudden passion of street riots. Rich cities could engage mercenary soldiers, at first foreigners such as those companies of *condottieri* we saw drawn off from France in the Black Prince's time; then later on they were recruited rather from the more ruffianly class of Italians, who furnished bodyguards for princes, and *bravi*, swashbuckling assassins, for whoever would keep them in pay. Those hired slaughterers, cruel to peaceful folk they had licence to pillage, carried on war in a cool spirit which made it a slow and not very dangerous game,[1] played according to certain rules against enemies who another day might be their comrades. As our football professionals "sign on" for one or another club, so such mercenary champions made little of changing sides in hostilities which it was not their interest to bring to an end. One of the most renowned of them was that Sir John Hawkwood, said to have begun life as a London tailor's apprentice, who, exchanging the needle for the sword, was knighted by Edward III, and came to raid and ravage in Italy for any power that would employ him; so, after long making war on Florence, he went over to her service, and proved in turn such a good defender as to be honourably buried beneath the Duomo.

Another famous leader of mercenaries was Francesco Sforza, a peasant so named from the bodily strength that helped him to cut his way to the Dukedom of Milan, in an age when Venice preferred to trust her armies to foreign Othellos rather than to her own sons, who might use them to enslave the republic, its constitution firmly

[1] Machiavelli mentions a battle which lasted half a day without the loss of a single life, only a few horses being wounded. The use of gunpowder seems to have made such martial play a more dangerous occupation.

guarded by an oligarchy of merchant nobles who kept a watchful eye on private ambition. The Doge Marino Falieri was beheaded by his fellow patricians for a plot to make himself supreme through the support of the populace, as had happened in other oligarchies and democracies, among which Venice in some respects recalls the Sparta of ancient Greece. Even at Florence, so jealous of her liberty, a leading citizen could hold absolute power for a time by capturing the machinery of popular election. At what was called a parliament, an open-air meeting hastily summoned and kept together by armed men, he might demand the appointment of a committee in whom all authority should be vested; or, the *Signoria* of magistrates being drawn by lot, he would manage that the bags containing eligible names should be filled with those of his partisans. Wealth and popularity, rather than martial valour or hereditary rank, here served an ambitious citizen to control the government. The pride and privileges of feudal aristocracy were dying out in most parts of Italy, lingering chiefly in "the kingdom", that is Naples, whose crown passed from one usurper to another, and was now held by a Spanish dynasty.

Nearly all the communes of northern Italy, often after destroying one another's liberty, had fallen under the power of despots with one or other title and claim, the most effectual of which was an unscrupulous tyranny that darkened their lives with constant suspicion, the shadow of their own crimes. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Sforza seized Milan by force, and as having wedded a daughter of his old masters, the Visconti dynasty, who had been the most prosperous of those tyrants, marrying their children in royal families with dowries wrung from terror-stricken subjects and vassals. The most celebrated of the race had been Gian Galeazzo, the "Serpent of Milan", who swallowed his neighbour vipers by artful policy that stuck at nothing but exposing himself to peril. A cold-blooded, cunning, and accomplished coward, he kept the best soldiers in such good pay that at the beginning of the century his arms bid fair to subdue all Italy, when he died of the plague stealing through his well-guarded gates; and his ill-gotten power was broken up among the generals who had so well served such an unworthy Alexander. He left two sons, one a monster of brutality whose favourite pastime was hunting criminals with dogs fed on human flesh, the other a cruel coward like his father, kept in authority at Milan by the strong hand of Sforza, who, on his welcome death, made himself duke, crushing a vain attempt to restore the city's old freedom.

Against the Viscontis' ambition, Florence, with men like Hawkwood for her sword, had been the shield of Central Italy. But now this republic herself began to come under the domination of a family who cautiously disguised their pretensions in a show of public spirit. During the fourteenth century the house of Medici rose to be rich bankers, taking an influential part in constant feuds between rival houses and revolutionary strife of classes.[1] At the beginning of the

[1] The cognizance of the Medici family, such balls as have been handed down for a sign over our

fifteenth century Giovanni de' Medici appears prominently as a citizen distinguished by wealth and prudence, who filled several public offices, made himself popular by his liberality, and left an enormous fortune to his sons. Cosimo, the eldest, married into the old Bardi family, was still looked on askance by other nobles, who saw a parvenu house rising in wealth and popular favour at their expense, when, as among ourselves, democratic sentiment had not extinguished a certain respect for hereditary rank. The Albizzi, the chief Florentine aristocrats at that period, were keenly jealous of the new man; and when he began to build himself a truly noble palace, they made that an excuse for denouncing him as too ambitious for an ordinary citizen. The magistracy was manipulated into imprisoning Cosimo, and there seems even to have been an attempt to poison him; but he got off with a decree banishing the whole family from Florence. But their exile did not last long, a reaction taking place in their favour, and the Albizzi party being in turn overthrown when they had tried to master the government by force of arms.

In A.D. 1434 Cosimo came back to be for the rest of his life the practical ruler of Florence, nominally governed by its Signory. Such power he held through his prudent management of the enormous wealth drawn from the banking house that enabled him to spend on public objects more than the whole revenue of the state, and to put many of his fellow citizens under obligations to him. Unostentatious in his own habits, he finished the Medici Palace, the finest in Italy, where he entertained such guests as the Pope, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Emperors both of the East and the West. He rebuilt at his own expense churches and monasteries, like that of San Marco which he adorned with the famous frescoes of Fra Angelico. He founded the Medicean Library, the first public library in modern Europe, in which he collected a treasure of classical manuscripts. He brought renown on his native city by drawing to its Duomo the Council of Florence, where was discussed the union of the eastern and western churches, in a vain effort to save Constantinople from its impending fall. The Pope now for some years took up his abode at Florence, which Cosimo in various ways pushed into a prominent position. By his command of the money market he had some such power as the Rothschilds in modern Europe; his loans to Edward IV weighed much in our Wars of the Roses; and at home he paralysed Naples and Venice by cutting their sinews of war. Cosimo's influence changed the foreign policy of the republic by making alliance with its long-time enemy Milan, whose new duke, Sforza, was among his friends; then Florence and Milan, side by side, could resist Venice and Naples in the war that hindered Italy from helping Constantinople. The city's prosperity, as well as art and learning, made such strides under his

pawnbrokers' doors, were said by its detractors to recall an original trade as pillmakers. This is vehemently denied by their latest biographer, Colonel Young, who may not bear in mind that Dante also belonged to the guild of druggists, ranking as important through their dealings in Eastern spices and other rare commodities.

veiled rule that when he died, A.D. 1464, he stood the acknowledged "head of the republic", and the title *pater patriæ* was inscribed upon his tomb. In a contemporary republic, "boss" is the style that might be given to so prominent a citizen.

But the Medici had enemies who hoped to overthrow the masterful house, when Cosimo was succeeded by his son Piero "the Gouty", so called as crippled by an ailment which had afflicted his father also; and gout appears so common among rich men of that time as to point to cooks being more skilful than physicians of the period. Yet his poor health did not hinder Piero from keeping the family ascendancy, ably backed by his son Lorenzo, not yet out of his teens, but already skilled in statecraft. A conspiracy to assassinate his father was foiled by the lad's acuteness and resolution, and when the discontented party took up arms they were quelled by help of a force from Milan. Father and son showed politic magnanimity in pardoning certain ill-wishers, and an attack on Florence stirred up by those of them now driven to exile came to naught; so Piero ended his short government of five years in peace, continuing Cosimo's lavish patronage of art, and foiling the intrigues of a rival in expense, Luca Pitti, founder of the Pitti palace that fell to the Medici from its impoverished owners. When Piero died, A.D. 1469, the headship of the family passed to Lorenzo, in whom its glory came to full flower. He was only twenty when, with an affectation of reluctance, he accepted the position offered him by the leading men of the predominant party, Tomaso Soderini, the most important of them, standing aside in his favour and aiding him with his counsels. His younger brother, Giuliano, a boy of fifteen, was also held in a respect showing how this family began to rank as a dynasty.

Lorenzo de' Medici's face and figure are well known to us through the paintings that, while investing sacred themes with the dress of their period, introduced likenesses of the artist's patrons. He was tall and strong, but hardly good-looking like his brother, and he had to contend against such defects as a harsh voice and weak sight. With two notable scholars for tutors, he was well educated, both in learning and accomplishments; and flattery hardly magnified his remarkable talents, inherited from an accomplished mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni. He did not, however, take after his forefathers' turn for business, being somewhat careless as to figures and more ready to spend money than to count it. At the end of his father's lifetime he married a daughter of the Roman Orsinis, the wedding being distinguished by the most magnificent spectacle ever presented in Florence, a tournament in which the young bridegroom, gorgeously arrayed, was allowed to carry off the first prize. The brothers' prowess in this or some other tournament was celebrated by Pulci and Politian in two of the best Italian poems of the time. The lavish patronage of the Medici enlisted so many authors and artists in their praise that they had a good chance of being handed down to posterity in a favourable light, for which fact allowance must be made in estimating their character. This

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LORENZO DE' MEDICI AND OTHER PORTRAIT MEDALS OF THE RENAISSANCE PERIOD

1. Francesco Sforza (by Vittore Pisano). 2. Cosimo de' Medici (by Michelozzi). 3. Lorenzo the Magnificent (by Niccolo Fiorentino). 4. Innocent VIII (by Antonio del Pollaiuolo). 5. Sixtus IV (by Andrea Guazzalotti).

From the Originals in the National Museum, Florence

much may be said for them, that their wealth almost bound them to be despots if they would keep it safe; and Lorenzo laid himself out for a despotism graced by policy and popularity.

His position in Florence naturally suggests a comparison with Augustus. Like the founder of the Roman empire, Lorenzo was careful to keep up a show of constitutional freedom, and to mask his real power under an apparent modesty. While the name and form of republican institutions were preserved, he eschewed for his own part titles of pretence, bore himself towards his fellow citizens without arrogance, and directed his lavish expenditure for the public good. The commonalty, like that of Rome, was won by *panem et circenses* to let him treat the state as his property; and, so long as all went well, he was sovereign of Florence while seeming only to be its chief citizen. But there was always a minority of discontented spirits not to be bought or flattered. The Albizzi and the Pitti having been crushed by the Medici, their domination was still silently resented by other families that would willingly have played the same leading part.

Several attempts were made on Lorenzo's life, the most resolute being the Conspiracy of the Pazzi, in A.D. 1478. The Pazzi were a banking house favoured by Cosimo, but looked on askance by his successors, so that its head had been driven away to Rome, where he became banker to Sixtus IV. This Pope, also, had a grudge against the Medici for having opposed the advancement of his favourite nephews; and he is believed to have been at the bottom of a plot with the Pazzi to bring about a revolution in Florence by murdering Lorenzo and his brother. An active leader in it was Archbishop Salviati, whose appointment to the see of Pisa had been rejected by its Florentine masters; then in his resentment he did not stick at sacrilege. The conspiracy had almost been successful through what seems a heedless lack of suspicion on the part of the brothers. They let themselves be accompanied by the assassins into the Cathedral, crowded for a solemn function at which the Pope's nephew appeared as a new-made Cardinal. The consummation of the mass was signal for Giuliano being suddenly stabbed to death by Francesco Pazzi, who, pretending to embrace his victim to make sure of his wearing no secret armour, attacked him with such fury that he gave himself a painful wound in the leg. The bravo who should have dealt with the elder brother shrank from murder in a church, and his part was undertaken by a priest, who so bungled it that Lorenzo got off with a slight wound, locking himself into the sacristy, whence his friends soon escorted him to his house. A terrible commotion arose, spreading through the streets of the city. Salviati, the unwelcome Archbishop sent by Rome, had hurried to the palace of the Signory to carry out the proposed *coup d'état*, but was there arrested by the Gonfalonier and hanged out of the window with some of his accomplices. In vain the conspirators tried to excite the mob with cries of *Libertà! Popolo!* For once these old watchwords met no response but *Palle! Palle!* (the

balls), to show how the people took the side of the Medici. The would-be revolutionists were hunted down and massacred, Francesco Pazzi, crippled by his self-inflicted wound, being torn out of bed to be hanged beside the Archbishop. One of the Pazzi who escaped was Lorenzo's own brother-in-law, to whom he gave sanctuary in his house; the rest of the family, unless they could take flight, were summarily executed with many of their adherents.

That day of bloodshed only cemented Lorenzo's power in Florence, while bringing upon it formidable enemies from without. Pope Sixtus was furious against the city that had hanged his nominee and insulted his nephew. He laid Florence under an interdict, specially anathematizing Lorenzo and the magistrates. The bishops of Tuscany boldly retorted by excommunicating the Pope, and appealing against him to a General Council. Sixtus called to his aid an arm of the flesh in Ferdinand, Ferrante as he was commonly called, the cruel and treacherous king of Naples, who had an ambition to rule all Italy; and he in turn demanded that Lorenzo should be delivered up to him or expelled from Florence. Lorenzo called a meeting of the leading citizens, before whom he offered to surrender himself if that would save the state; but they unanimously undertook to stand by him at all risks.

In the war that ensued—against a league of the Pope, Naples, and her neighbour, Siena—Florence got the worst of it, her ally, Milan, being kept in check by a rising of the Genoese against the domination of that power. The Duke of Ferrara, general of her mercenary troops, proved incapable or disloyal; she was defeated on all hands; her territories were ravaged, her finances drained, while her trade suffered, and the property of her merchants in the hostile states came to be confiscated. After two years of such losses the Florentines began to cry out against the Medici as having brought such trouble upon them. Friendly words came from Louis XI of France, who sent Lorenzo no other help; and old king René of Anjou only talked of invading Italy to vindicate his title to the crown of Naples. When the republic seemed like to be overwhelmed, Lorenzo saved it by a daring act of policy. He put himself in the hands of the crafty Ferrante, the most manageable of his enemies, visiting Naples as his own ambassador, where he was received with honour but might never have come back again had he not been able to persuade this king that it was his interest to end a war which else would bring down French interference to threaten his throne. After a long stay, practically in captivity, at Naples, Lorenzo had the satisfaction of winning over Ferrante to a treaty which deprived the Pope of his chief ally. Sixtus, for his part, was alarmed by an attack of the Turks, who, in A.D. 1480, took Otranto. With such an enemy on their soil, it was felt to be no time for the Italian states to waste their strength in mutual destruction, so the Pope also agreed to peace with Florence, to which Lorenzo had returned in triumph as the restorer of its falling fortunes.

He used this new lease of popularity to have a council of seventy elected whom he could trust for subservience, making a permanent institution of what had hitherto been an occasional resource for working the machinery of dictatorship. During the rest of his life he reigned like an uncrowned king, treated by kings and princes as an equal, while in Italy he played a predominant part directed towards trying to keep it at peace. On the death of Mohammed II, his sons falling out, Otranto was recovered from the Turk; then Sixtus and his nephew stirred Venice into aggressions upon Ferrara, in which these allies found themselves now opposed by Naples, Milan, and Florence. Lorenzo was the soul of this league, and, though he did not come forward as a soldier, his occasional presence in the camp seems to have inspired the Florentine army to retrieve their losses. After two or three years of fighting, and one notable battle in which a thousand men were killed on both sides, as had not happened in Italy for half a century, observes Machiavelli, Lorenzo gained his object of bringing about a general peace, which was satirically said to have killed the bellicose Pope with vexation.

Sixtus was succeeded by Innocent VIII, disposed to keep on good terms with the ruler of Florence. This Pope, who had been a husband before taking orders, married one of his sons to Lorenzo's eldest daughter; and the latter's heir, Piero, made a match in his own mother's illustrious family, the Orsinis of Rome. His second son, Giovanni, the future Leo X, had taken minor orders at the age of seven, when Louis XI gave him first an Abbacy, then the Archbishopric of Aix, as encouragement in a clerical career; and on reaching the age of thirteen the boy dignitary was made a Cardinal by the Pope, who could already see in him a probable successor, but had the grace to stipulate that he should not assume the honours and ensigns of his precocious rank till after three years spent in study. While in Italy for a time Florence's ruler stood up as umpire preserving peace among its quarrelsome states, his name spread over Europe as Lorenzo the Magnificent. From its proudest kings, as from the sultans of Turkey and Egypt, ambassadors came to him, asking advice, seeking favours, or bringing presents. His glory was reflected on Florence, which now enjoyed under his government a few years of such prosperous peace as shone like a golden age in its troubled history.

Historians, according to their bias, take different views of this remarkable man's character, that seems shot with the good and bad qualities of his time. All agree in giving him the praise of lavish magnificence, which would be a poor virtue if not shown at his own expense, or for no mere selfish aims. His admirers declare that he spent his huge private fortune for the public good; his maligners point to the fact that he got his debts paid by the republic. The truth may be that, never having much turn for accounts, he confused public and private funds in a period when he had to make himself responsible for heavy war charges, while his own resources were

impaired by the dishonesty or misfortune of agents in circumstances ruinous to commerce. During the latter part of his life he withdrew from business, taking rather to farming on the estates he possessed in various parts of Tuscany, his favourite retreat being a palatial villa about ten miles from Florence, which by his court of poets was celebrated as Ambra.

In Florence itself, besides enormous sums spent on charity, perhaps on bribery, and on ephemeral spectacles, he beautified the city with new streets and buildings, adorned by most of the great masters of art. He was the patron of such artists as Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Signorelli, Michel Angelo, Filippino Lippi, and Pallajuolo, a list which would include nearly all the great names of that palmy age. The Medici palace became a gallery of paintings, and he set up in one of his gardens a school for sculptors. He fostered the lesser arts, reviving mosaic-work and engraving on gems; then under him arose the new device of copperplate printing, while he also encouraged the press that in Italy began to print books with an eye to artistic effect. His collection of cameos, coins, &c., are in part still preserved, bearing out his reputation for taste, which needs no testimony but the names of the artists employed by this Pericles of Florence.

With the best authors of the time he lived on the most intimate terms, several of them having houses given them round his own villa at Fiesole. Among his most congenial companions and most assiduous courtiers were Landini and Ficino, his old tutors; Politian, the famous classical scholar, whom he made preceptor to his sons; Scala, the learned secretary of the republic; the brothers Pulci, one of whom in his *Morgante Maggiore* gave a new model for poetry; and Pico della Mirandola, the "Phœnix" of his age, who as a mere child showed precocious talent which he cultivated so as to become a prodigy of learning in more than twenty languages, distinguished also by a piety not common among Lorenzo's neo-pagan associates, disposed to take Plato for their patron saint rather than any archangel of the Church. With such men the Magnifico lived both as their patron and as their peer, for he was an author and scholar himself of no small note, whose writings would not be too harshly criticized by his court of critics, however they might snarl at each other. The works he has left show talent and great versatility of mind, his poems being in turn descriptive, philosophic, grammatic, satirical, and even religious, though also disfigured by the licentiousness that was a too common mark of this school.

In his private life Lorenzo was no saint, though we need not believe all the charges brought against him by his enemies any more than we accept the flatteries of his friends. Among men for whom the word *vertù* began to degenerate into some such sense as colours our use of *virtuoso*, he seems something of a moral chameleon, whose inconsistencies Mr. Armstrong's account of him may be near the mark in explaining by the gift of *simpatia* that means so much in Italian. He stands out as type of an age whose

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Photo Anderson

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

From the picture by Sandro Botticelli in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

This picture affords a striking instance of the Renaissance practice of using Biblical subjects to display the brilliant civilization of the period and the magnificence of the artist's patrons. At Venice this tendency was chiefly manifested in the favourite banqueting scenes (e.g. The Wedding at Cana), while at Florence it found its most marked expression in paintings of the subject here treated.

Botticelli worked in the service of Lorenzo de' Medici, the Magnificent, and this picture was probably commissioned by the latter. It is noteworthy that the portraits of the members of the Medici family are painted with much greater force and skill than the ideal figures of the Holy Family.

The aged Cosimo de' Medici, kneeling to receive the blessing of the infant Christ, represents one of the wise men; and his son Piero, in the foreground in the centre of the picture, is another of the trio. Piero is looking towards Giovanni, a younger brother who died early, and beside him, in a dark costume, stands Piero's son, Giuliano, the victim of the Pazzi conspiracy. Lorenzo, the more famous son of Piero, appears on the extreme left of the picture, with both hands on his sword.

The work was originally painted for the Church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

general characteristics are thus summed up in J. A. Symonds' *Renaissance in Italy*:

Blending the visionary intuitions of the Middle Ages with the positive and mundane ethics of the ancients, the Italians of the Renaissance strove to adopt the sentiments and customs of an age long dead and not to be resuscitated. At the same time the rhetorical taste of the nation inclined the more adventurous and passionate natures to seek glory by dramatic exhibitions of personal heroism. The Greek ideal of *To Calon*, the Roman conception of *Virtus*, agitated the imagination of a people who had been powerfully influenced by professors of eloquence, by public orators, by men of letters, masters in the arts of style and of parade. Painting and sculpture, and that magnificence of public life which characterized the fifteenth century, contributed to the substitution of æsthetic for moral or religious standards. Actions were estimated by the effect which they produced; and to sin against the laws of culture was of more moment than to transgress the code of Christianity. Still, the men of the Renaissance could not forget the creed which they had drawn in with their mother's milk, but which the Church had not adjusted to the new conditions of the growing age. The result was a wild phantasmagoric chaos of confused and clashing influences.[1]

The worldly wisdom of the Renaissance is expressed by Machiavelli, who has given his name as a synonym for political infamy. This thoughtful, experienced, and patriotic teacher of statecraft took for chief model of his "Prince" the unscrupulous Cæsar Borgia, and so strongly recommended a calculated practice of cruelty, treachery, and deceit as the best means of keeping order, that he has been suspected of a satirical purpose, yet appears to have written in all good faith, unashamed of a moral nakedness to which he and his contemporaries were blind. Macaulay may well call him an enigma to our age by his blending of incongruous principles. But Lord Acton reminds us how this schemer, who saw no reason to hide what he thought, is after all "the contemporary of every politician", with a seat in cabinets down to our own day. Frederick the Great, in his youth, wrote a counterblast to Machiavelli, "an edifying homily

[1] Mr. Boulting, in his useful *refacimento* of Sismondi's monumental *History of the Italian Republics*, puts the case more forcibly: "Man strove for the highest in life as well as in art, and reached it; but in life the loosening of ancient bonds that liberated all angels that soar also unfastened all demons that lurked. Every quality of humanity, good or bad, was revealed. At first the Renaissance strikes the student as full of contradiction, strange and incomprehensible as the Sphinx, whereof the features indicate exquisite sensibility, lofty imagination, inspiration and aspiration, high intellect, 'calm commemorative eyes'; and with these are associated the supple crouch and insensitive talons, that mark the cruel relentless cravings of a predatory beast. The scholarly mind, alive to every hint of truth, the poetic heart responsive to each lure of beauty, the gentle soul quickened by all lofty impulse, are bound together with inconceivable treachery, unutterable lust, and secret murder. The unravelling of the riddle lies in the loosening of the human spirit from all bonds: old restraints were lost; the ancient and the Christian types were both present but unwelded; the ancient world came back without its civic duty; vital Christianity had disappeared, or remained unadapted to the age; the social order had no other basis than self-interest. Hence man appeared as he is, himself Sphinx-like, the combination of unspeakable lust with divine desire, placed in a world of unescapable exigencies. Unfettered from the codes of tradition and the bonds of accepted restraint, the human spirit attained the highest heaven, plunged into the deepest abyss: yet even its lusts were tinged with imagination, and, professional scholars excepted, the Italian always retained a delicate sensibility, and never manipulated the lewd grossness, the cold vulgarity, the coarse brutality which marks the Teuton at his worst."

against rapacity, perfidy, arbitrary government, unjust war—in short against almost everything for which its author is now remembered among men". The undissembled craft of the *Prince* marks the standard by which an Italian ruler of that time should be measured; and all history proves how seldom human nature has been unspoiled by the temptation of absolute power. Another book of the period to be compared with Machiavelli's is the once-famous *Courtier* of Castiglione, attesting how far the Italians had advanced in elegant manners and sympathetic sentiments that draped their want of sturdy morals. More familiar to us remains the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, so frankly revealing the vices of the man and of his time. These books belong to the next generation, but they go to show how, judged by his circumstances, Lorenzo the Magnificent may pass as no mean or cruel oppressor. A tyrant in the ancient rather than the modern sense, he made at least a gracious and prudent tyrant compared with some Machiavelli had in view, who used the hand of iron without the velvet glove.

In strong contrast to Machiavelli, representing the other side of human nature, stands Girolamo Savonarola, whose short and clouded career shows the Hebraistic conscience reacting against Hellenistic pride of intellect. A scholar by training, a poet by temperament, youthful convictions of sin drove Savonarola to take refuge in the cloister; then in the pulpit he found a voice to denounce the wickedness around him. As an amateur of religion, in certain moods, Lorenzo himself had encouraged this austere Dominican monk to settle in Florence, where he proved a very firebrand among its epicurean pleasures and proprieties. Elected prior of St. Marco, a monastery specially favoured by the Medici, Fra Girolamo would not wink at the loose morals of any patron, nor let his zeal compromise with taste. Inflamed by moral indignation to see virtue and piety despised while vice sat on high, soon he was stirring the city by his fierce eloquence, attacking corruptions in Church and State, announcing judgments at hand, seeing visions and uttering prophecies, by which, in an interval of general peace, he foretold a foreign enemy's coming as punishment for the sins of Italy, and the imminent death of its leading personages, among them Lorenzo de' Medici. In him lived again the prophetic spirit of Israel, when even the Ahabs and Jezebels of the day were moved to tremble before rebukes that pealed like thunder through the Duomo of Florence.

His prophecies came partly true. Lorenzo was indeed near death, though in the prime of life. Like his father, he appears to have suffered from lithic acid troubles, which settled acutely on his stomach. As if aware of the approaching end, he did his best to bring forward his sons as his successors in the government of Florence; and to them his counsels were those of a wise and well-meaning man. Thermal baths and other remedies having been repeatedly tried in vain, the last resource of medical science in the case of this magnificent patient was an expensive prescription of powdered pearls and diamonds, which

may have done more to kill than to cure. Early in A.D. 1492 he lay down on his deathbed, meeting the inevitable with a philosophic firmness that edified his friends, on whom his pious professions were perhaps more thrown away. He summoned Savonarola to administer the last rites of the Church, and it is said, though dubiously, that this stern confessor refused him absolution unless he made amends for his misappropriation of public funds and gave back the liberty of which he had robbed Florence. By many he was sincerely mourned. The physician whose art had been in vain either threw himself or was thrown into a well. Lorenzo's crony, Politian, who died soon afterwards, as if of sorrow for the death of such a friend, lamented him in unfinished Latin verses, thus rendered by his admiring biographer, Roscoe—

> Through heaven the gleamy lightning flies,
> And prone on earth my Laurel lies:
> That laurel, boast of many a tongue,
> Whose praises every muse has sung,
> Which every dryad of the grove,
> And all the tuneful sisters love;
> That laurel that erewhile displayed
> Its ample honours; in whose shade
> To louder notes was strung the lyre,
> And sweeter sang the Aonian choir,
> Now silent, silent all around,
> And deaf the ear that drank the sound.

The death of Lorenzo struck Florence with consternation, which spread over Italy, where it was felt to presage fresh embroilment. The rivals, kept quiet for a time by his care, were now indeed ready to fly at one another's throats, when a new danger came down from the Alps, to bear out Savonarola's prediction that a Cyrus would soon destroy the Italian Babylon. Charles VIII, scatter-brained and misshapen son of Louis XI, invaded Italy with the strong standing army his father had formed, his avowed object being to recover the kingdom of Naples from its Spanish usurpers. Florence, lying right in his way south, hardly knew whether to receive him as friend or foe. Lorenzo's eldest son, Piero, who by his pride and indiscretion had soon lost hold on the city's loyalty, was inclined to the side of Naples, but durst not resist the invader. He went out to meet the French king, and sued for his favour by giving up the Tuscan fortresses so readily that the people broke out against him. The Medici were once more driven into exile, their property confiscated, their palace pillaged by the mob, and Florence found itself free, with a powerful army at its gates, led by a king who had already liberated its vassal, Pisa, and whose intentions were alarmingly doubtful.

But as Dante had looked to Germany for a deliverer, so Savonarola, in his enthusiasm, idealized this vain and fickle prince as a champion of peace. He came to the front among the city's spokesmen; and it was agreed to admit the French army for negotiation within the walls.

Charles, lodged in the Medici palace, completed the plunder of its priceless art treasures, while he haughtily demanded tribute as well as obedience from the Florentines. They, after welcoming the showy parade of his entrance as a spectacle, presently began to fall out with the arrogant strangers; and it looked as if their quarrels might come to fighting in the narrow streets, where regular soldiers would be at small advantage. Charles, growing angry at the refusal of his exorbitant demands, threatened to sound his trumpets, to which one of the chief citizens spiritedly replied that then they would ring their bells. By prudent advisers, as at the earnest remonstrances of Savonarola, the king was persuaded to pass on, receiving a sum of money with an empty title as Protector of the Republic. He marched forward to Rome, then to Naples, from which he drove its hated king for the moment, but soon had to retreat with dwindled forces when the Pope, the Emperor, and several Italian states formed a league to bar his passage home. Leaving Naples to be recovered by the Spanish dynasty, he cut his way back to France by a battle that showed the inferiority of Italian troops rather than his own fitness for command; and that was the end of the expedition which Savonarola had vainly taken as a regenerating penance for Italy.

Futile as it was, this invasion opened a new era, in which French, German, and Spanish armies would in turn make havoc among the Italian states, kept for centuries from coalescing into a nation. Italy, like a shy, sly, and bookish boy, had to go to school with rough bullies from the north, who for their part picked up something of Italian humanities, if only in the plunder they carried off across the Alps. The seeds of the Renaissance were spread over Europe, to take vigorous root in fresh soil, while in its exhausted birthplace culture began to degenerate into fruitless pedantry and spiritless imitation. Here we are looking too far ahead from the illustrious days of Florence; but the tragic story of her last great name may be briefly told out as an epilogue to the pageants of Lorenzo.

After Charles left the city, Savonarola's influence forced him into a leading political position, which he used for the best according to his lights. By his prompting, the constitution was remodelled somewhat after the oligarchic model of Venice, calculated to stand firm against gusts of popular feeling. Power was based on a Great Council of all qualified citizens, some 3000 at the most, from whom should be sifted by election a senate of eighty and a Signory, with other administrative juntos holding office for short terms. But the popular preacher was practically head of a democratic theocracy, when his zeal kindled that extraordinary revival of religion depicted for us in George Eliot's *Romola*. Christ was proclaimed king of Florence, even its boisterous youth being banded in religious service, excited to shout *Viva Gesù*, and to march about testifying against sins they were not inclined to. The *Piagnoni* (snivelling mourners) got the upper hand of the *Arrabiati* (worldly spirits), who in scowling silence had to submit to a puritanic rule. Hymns were sung instead of the

Photo. Alinari

GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA

From the painting by Fra Bartolommeo in the Museum (formerly the Monastery) of S. Marco, Florence

Bartolommeo della Porta, one of the greatest painters of the Florentine school, was born in 1469. As a youth he came under the influence of Savonarola, and publicly burned his studies from the nude in the great "bonfire of vanities" (see page 183). After the reformer's tragic death he took monastic vows and entered the Convent of S. Marco, when he became known as Fra Bartolommeo. He painted several portraits of Savonarola, numerous altar pieces, and a few subject pictures, most of which are to be seen at Florence, where he died in 1517.

lascivious songs of Lorenzo's day, debauchery had to hide its head, gambling and usury were banned, and for the nonce Savonarola had some success in recalling Florence to its old simplicity and frugality of life. Sumptuary laws had in vain opposed the luxury introduced by wealth; but now, at the bidding of this preacher, the Carnival was celebrated by an enormous bonfire of vanities, fine clothes, false hair, ornaments, cards and dice, unchaste books and pictures, and other *irritamenta malorum*, making a valuable pile for which a speculative Venetian is said to have offered more than twenty thousand florins. Florentine "boy scouts", trained as Savonarola's acolytes, entered heartily into the work of pious destruction, using force as well as persuasion to strip worldly-minded elders of vanities marked out as their booty; but the renunciation was often more disinterested. Botticelli himself burned some of his own pictures in the mood of piety that coloured his later life. Michel Angelo and Pico della Mirandola were both disciples of the reformer who cared little for art or letters, so full was his mind of a kingdom of God which he declared to be at hand.

But human nature, too suddenly driven out by eloquence and contagious enthusiasm, did not fail to return. The second year's bonfire of vanities was smaller than the first. A reaction had set in from that penitential mood, when, by pushing fervour to fanaticism, Savonarola, too earnest and singleminded to be judicious, strained his authority beyond bearing. He had also aroused powerful enmity by attacking the corruptions of Rome and the scandalous life of Alexander VI, that "Nero of Popes". Alexander, having in vain tried to lure him into his power, then to bribe him to silence, fulminated against him an excommunication, to which the audacious monk replied by preparing to call on the princes of Europe to hold a General Council for the reformation of the Church. He had no quarrel with its rites or doctrines, but that it should be scourged and purified was the constant burden of his cry. For himself, he sought nothing but freedom to speak his mind. To the Pope's wily offer of a Cardinal's hat he preferred "the red crown of martyrdom". That now seemed like to be his lot, yet he stood up undauntedly as ever against gathering hostility, while tones of more angry bitterness betrayed the heartburnings of his failure to regenerate Florence. He himself, perhaps, lost the flush of exaltation in which he had confidently promised miracles and judgments. He had looked for good to spring from evil, but everything was going wrong. Plague and famine fell upon Florence. She could not subdue Pisa, lost through the invasion of Charles VIII. That champion had proved a broken reed, and it might well be that Savonarola began to doubt in himself what he had taken for inspiration.

Meanwhile the city's government had slipped from the hands of the Piagnoni. An attempt to restore the Medici filled Florence with restless suspicion. The mob grew tired of shouting for Christ as king. The young bloods of the upper class were hot against an austere domination that had turned the world upside down. The Pope was

able to intrigue with the magistracy for silencing this monk that never ceased to denounce both small and great shortcomings from his high standard of righteousness. The revulsion against Savonarola was as yet fitful and incomplete, for still he found earnest partisans, even among the officials, changed every two months. The Franciscans, jealous of a superiority gained by their Dominican rivals in his person, lent themselves as instruments for humbling him. Their chief preacher, Fra Francesco, offered to pass through a fire with Savonarola, as an ordeal to show which of them spoke the will of God. The challenge was accepted, not by the Dominican prior himself, but by his friend and lieutenant, Fra Domenico; and Florence, always agog for some new thing, could look forward to such an exciting spectacle. Women and children, and the brethren of St. Marco to a man, volunteered for the ordeal, which their Prior declared would prove miraculously harmless, while his enemies could note how he shrank from the test in his own person. After a good deal of dispute as to conditions, two monks presented themselves before a huge blazing pile in which a passage was left open, but neither of them appeared eager to run the gauntlet of flame. The Dominicans insisted that their champion should carry the Host with him, which the Franciscans barred as sacrilege. While they wrangled, heavy rain came on, and the magistrates sent both parties home.

But the excitement of the Florentines did not fizzle out with the flames. Disappointed of their dramatic sensation, they broke into brawling and the old trick of stone-throwing which Savonarola had done his best to put down. The Piagnoni were pelted in the streets. The mob attacked St. Marco, where some feeble resistance only infuriated them to murder and pillage. Savonarola surrendered himself to the magistrates, who treated him and some score of his adherents as criminals. Cruelly tortured to make him confess himself a political intriguer and disturber of the Church, he maintained his innocence in vain. His agony was prolonged by emissaries of the Pope, who again put him to useless torture, his real crime being that he had denounced wickedness among high and low; but there may have been forced out of him some admission that he had falsely pretended to supernatural gifts. With Fra Domenico and another of his monks he was sentenced to be hanged and burned in sight of the populace that a year before had held him in veneration. Colonel Young takes this cruel judgment for a proof that Florence missed the master-hand of Lorenzo: he might also have drawn a moral of how the sense of justice can wither under despotic rule. But there were tears in many eyes that saw the noblest spirit of Italy thus extinguished amid vulgar taunts and insults; and once more pensive souls had to despair of the world:

> Truth for ever on the scaffold, Wrong for ever on the throne.

No sooner was that infamous deed done, A.D. 1498, than Florence began to repent of it, the victim being remembered as a hero and

in popular esteem soon exalted as a saint. The city, indeed, had cause to repent of an execution that shines in history like a last flicker of the Middle Ages. The new era opening for Italy and for Europe saw the Medici brought back to power that reached farther than Florence. Under one Pope of this family, Leo X, a German monk woke wider echoes by a voice louder than Savonarola's; under another, Clement VII, was dragged out the divorce of Henry VIII, that cost England to Rome. Two daughters of the house became queens of France, to her misfortune. But the later dignities and crimes of this family lie beyond our scope. When foreign armies crushed the ruins of Italian liberty a branch of it was forced upon Florence as hereditary Grand Dukes, holding sway down to the eighteenth century, none of them so renowned as Lorenzo entitled the Magnificent.

CHAPTER XV

Columbus (A.D. 1451–1506)

In this pregnant century knowledge opened fast upon the world from all quarters. What gunpowder was to war, what the printing press was to letters, the compass was to maritime discovery. This invention is supposed to have originated in China, and to have reached Europe at the close of the Middle Ages, perhaps through the Crusaders' contact with Arab navigation. At first held in suspicion of magic, by the fifteenth century it was serving Mediterranean sailors to take bold flights upon the open ocean, no longer creeping cautiously from point to point along coasts known and unknown. The compass was now improved, while other nautical instruments came into better use, such as the astrolabe and the quadrant through which sailors could fix their position by a rough observation of the sun, and the logline that enabled them to measure their progress across unfamiliar seas.

The Phœnicians had been the first nautical adventurers in history, who sent out colonies over the Mediterranean, visited the tin mines of Britain, coasted the east shores of Africa, and are even guessed to have sailed round that continent, returning to the Levant through the straits of Gibraltar. Within narrower bounds their lead was followed by the enterprising spirit of Greek sailors; then the march of Roman armies traced roads through mountains and forests to pierce more or less deeply the darkness of three continents bordering the Mediterranean. But, for long, knowledge of the world was restricted and hazy. The ancients had been content to conceive it as a flat circle, extending round the central opening of the Mediterranean continued by the Euxine. Only the shores of those seas were seen by them in clear light. The north fringed off into the wild haunts of barbarous Scythians and Sarmatians, behind whom lay dark-dwelling Cimmerians, and, still farther, fabulous Hyperboreans, understood to enjoy perpetual sunshine, in which, perhaps, we have a glimpse of the northern midnight sun. To the south, ignorance gave the same bliss to "blameless" Ethiopians, and hence also came vague reports of pygmies that in our time have taken authentic shape, while impassable deserts and mountains naturally harboured giants and monsters, Amazons, Anthropophagi, and other human prodigies. Atlas bore up the world near the straits of Gibraltar, where the end of all known land was marked by the Pillars of Hercules, beyond which shone dreamy glimpses of Gardens of Hesperides and blessed Islands of Atlantis. The eastern walls of the world were the Caucasus and Taurus ranges, hiding dusky hosts brought to the ken of Greece by Persian invasion,

then more clearly by Alexander's conquests. Round all flowed the ocean, opening into the landlocked gulfs that were the centre of ancient geography. Since these best-known seas stretched lengthwise east and west, making a course for the development of civilization, the notion of the world tended to an oblong shape, hinted at in our use of the words longitude and latitude.

Thales seems to be the first known astronomer, who in Greece spread the lore accumulated by Chaldean and Egyptian sages. His disciple, Anaximander, has the name of being the first European mapmaker. Voyagers like Hanno the Carthaginian, and land travellers like Herodotus, went on expanding man's knowledge of the world, which by Pythagoras, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers was guessed at as a sphere revolving on its axis. In the third century B.C. Eratosthenes drew lines of latitude and longitude upon such maps as he could form. Geographical knowledge was collected and systematized by Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, whose work would be pushed on rather by Arab scholars than by early Christians. In the Dark Ages classical views were obscured under a pious ignorance that banned the conception of Antipodes as heresy, and took Jerusalem for the central point of the earth. The maps of that period represent it as a flat circle, where vague topographical details are much overlaid by pictures of such scenes and events as the Crucifixion, the Tower of Babel, the Pillars of Hercules, the Pyramids, Scylla and Charybdis, the Labyrinth of Crete, Noah's Ark, all strangely jumbled together out of sacred and profane history. The world as thus delineated was believed to be the centre of the solar system, till in the sixteenth century Copernicus scandalized religious minds by maintaining that our globe, with the other planets, moved round the sun.

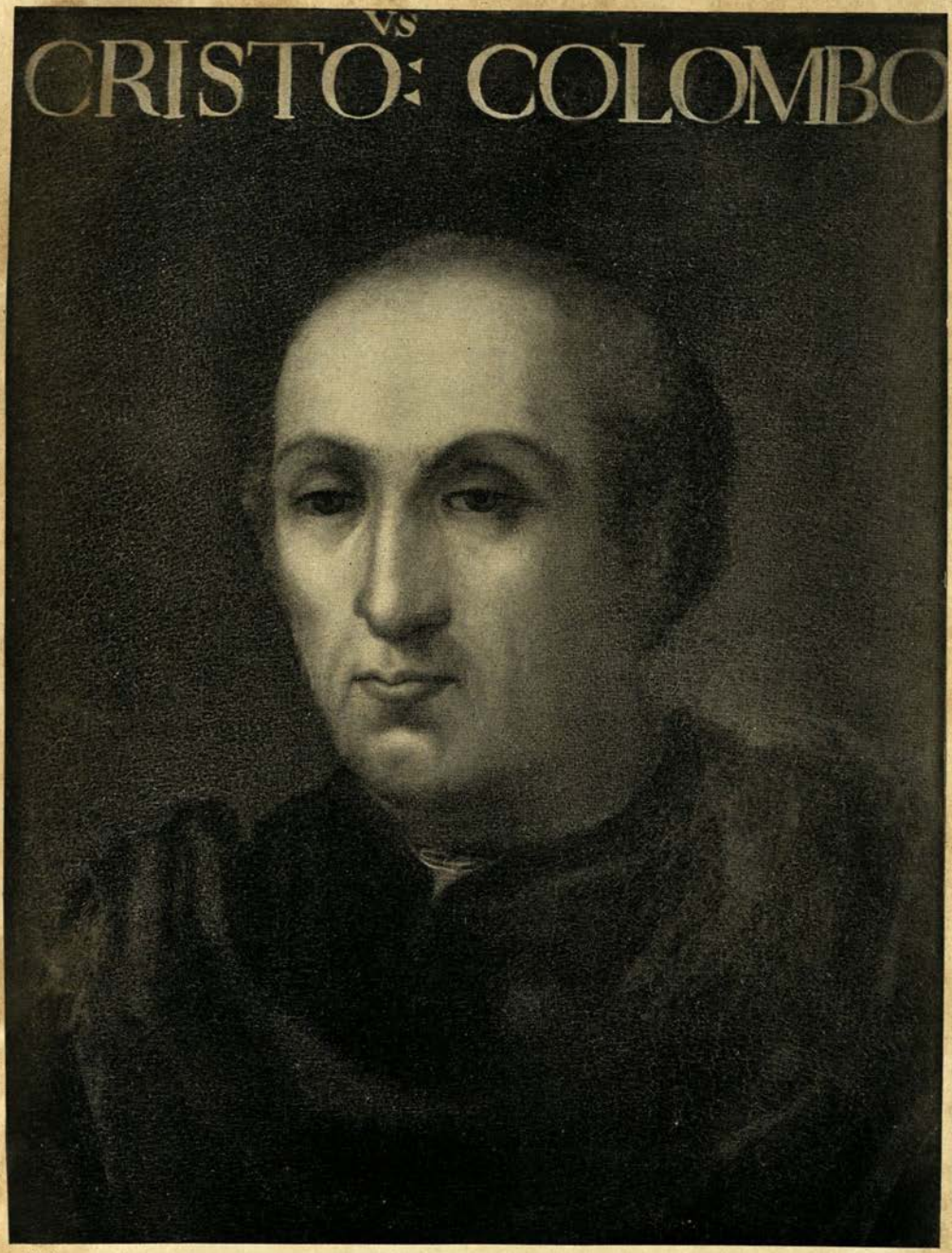
For long the most enterprising European travellers were the Viking pirates, who found their devastating way by land and sea to the Mediterranean, along with such missionary monks as reached Iceland before it became a Norse colony stretched on to Greenland. From this outpost of civilization it now seems clear that, five centuries before Columbus, adventurers made a fruitless discovery of the American coast, supposing themselves to have hit on European islands. The custom of pilgrimage to holy shrines went to give Europe some acquaintance with foreign countries; then the Crusades cut a way for commerce, in which Italians learned to vie with their Oriental competitors. Amalfi, Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and other Mediterranean cities had risen to independence and power through their position as trading centres, when in the fourteenth century fanciful maps began to be supplemented by more precise charts of familiar seas. We have seen how far the Venetian Marco Polo travelled over Asia, accumulating materials for the first great work of modern geography. China was disclosed as ocean-edged; and reports of Japan and of the "Spice Islands" came through adventurous missionaries, one of whom seems to have supplied the least unveracious part of the book passing under Sir John Mandeville's name.

The Italian sailors soon found themselves rivalled by those of the Spanish peninsula, whose large seaboard prompted its people to maritime enterprise, when they had pressed the Moorish intruders back towards the Straits of Gibraltar and began to pursue them into Africa. In the first half of the fifteenth century a Portuguese prince, Henry the Navigator, earned this title by his patronage of exploration. After distinguishing himself in war that gained a footing for his countrymen on the African coast, he set up an astronomical observatory at Sagres, in the south-west corner of Portugal, which became a focus of discovery by mariners and geographers gathered in his service. The ships sent out by him came to Madeira, already, it would appear, landed on by a romantic English adventurer, now colonized by Portugal, as were the Azores and the Canaries, discovered in the former century by Spaniards. Prince Henry's emissaries doubled the Saharan capes, almost reaching the Equator and exploding a medieval superstition as to the intolerable heat of the torrid zone; then they set up a trading post on the Atlantic coast as far south as the Bay of Arguin below Cape Blanco.

The impetus this prince gave to discovery did not die with him, when in the next generation (A.D. 1486) Bartolomeo Diaz reached the cape which he named of Storms, but it was renamed of Good Hope to make a better omen. It has been supposed, but apparently in error, that among the comrades of Diaz was one Bartolomeo Columbus, whose more famous brother came to be inspired by the stir of those achievements. There were many Genoese in the service of Prince Henry, they being in high esteem as sailors. Pushing their trading enterprise into the Black Sea, the sons of this republic stood better friends to the eastern empire than their rivals, the Venetians, who by diverting the Fourth Crusade into an attack upon Constantinople had hastened its decay as a world market. For this Venice suffered when Constantinople, in the hands of the Turk, became a nest of pirates preying on Italian commerce. Now that old trade routes had been thus barred, Christendom was concerned to find another way to the East, and in the search Columbus ran up against a new continent.

Christopher Columbus was humbly born at or near Genoa about the middle of his century—the exact date being questioned—and the greater part of his life had been spent in obscure sailoring, or in working by spells at his father's trade of a weaver, by which the family prospered. With a better education than most common sailors, he became not only expert in the handling of nautical instruments, but schooled in the geography of the age: he seems to have worked at map drawing for a time. He says himself that he went to sea at the age of fourteen, and of his youth we know little more for certain. By A.D. 1474, being then under thirty, he found his way to Portugal, as focus of that geographical enthusiasm that must have early possessed his thoughtful and devout mind.

At Lisbon, Columbus came into connection with navigators and



(64)

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Copy of the portrait formerly in the famous collection of Paulus Jovius at Como

A portrait of Columbus from life is known to have belonged to the celebrated gallery of contemporary paintings formed at Como by Paulus Jovius (Paolo Giovio), Archbishop of Nocera, who died 1552. The copy here reproduced was made previous to 1568 by order of the Duke of Tuscany, and is now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. It may therefore be considered the oldest perfectly authentic portrait of Columbus.

geographers, from whom he did not fail to learn all that was then known of the world's conformation. He is believed to have hence enlarged his experience by voyages down the west side of Africa, to England, and even to Iceland, where he may have heard the tradition of Leif's early discovery of "Vinland". Before long he married a Portuguese lady of some rank, so that his talents seem to have won for him a certain position in the foreign country. Here he was joined by his brother Bartholomew, a kindred spirit, who would be a faithful lieutenant in the great enterprise his busy mind had already in view. Years before he could carry it out he conceived the idea that by sailing westward round the world he must come upon India, to open up communication with lands of fabulous wealth. All his studies and enquiries confirmed this belief. Drift-wood and other objects floating to European shores from the west showed how there must be some land in that direction. Sailors from the Canaries, then the farthest known point westward, spoke of having dimly sighted coasts beyond, where ancient tradition placed mysterious islands in the Atlantic. If the world were globular, as he was convinced, by sailing round it he must touch those countries Marco Polo had reached by land. The idea was in the air: even ancient writers had guessed at the Atlantic as not boundless; Dante, and more plainly the later Italian poet, Pulci, had foreshadowed the finding of new nations to the west; men of science were now discussing a theory which the courage and perseverance of this scientific sailor would put to practical proof.

By A.D. 1482 his plan was so far in shape as to be submitted to the king of Portugal, from whom Columbus hoped for means to execute it. A commission appointed to consider the matter gave an unfavourable report, yet had been so much impressed by the projector's arguments that a vessel was clandestinely sent out to attempt the voyage, baffled by a storm which drove back her faint-hearted crew. Finding himself thus slighted and tricked by the Portuguese court, after a year or two Columbus took his project to Spain, on whose rising fortunes we must now look back for a moment.

Throughout the Middle Ages Spain had held a peculiar position among European countries. The intrusion of an Eastern people, superior in civilization, had taught her lessons of science and industry, while keeping her proud chivalry in exercise. Her wars were not only with the Moors; split up into several Christian kingdoms, she was filled with shifting strife that fostered a tumultuous freedom; and, strange as it may sound to-day, nowhere were principles of constitutional freedom earlier developed than in the Peninsula that afterwards fell behind the movement of European progress. Portugal, earlier rid of the Moors, having made itself independent by the fifteenth century, other petty states had become mainly welded on to the two chief powers, Aragon and Castile, which in A.D. 1469 were joined by the marriage of their sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, the beginning of a more complete fusion such as would take place between

England and Scotland. Castile is still looked on as the central dominant state, that sets the standard of language and manners for Spain. The borderland of Navarre, extending over the Pyrenees, remained as yet more closely connected with France. Meanwhile the Moors had been gradually driven back, till they were restricted to the southern kingdom of Granada, upon which Ferdinand could now turn the united force of his own and his wife's heritage.

Bent as they were on that final struggle that engaged all their resources, Columbus had bad chance of attention from the sovereigns of Spain. His first welcome was at the convent of La Rabida, on the Andalusian coast, in which, now a widower, he left his little son Diego, while he went on to Seville, there making friends who after a time introduced him to the court at Cordova; then (A.D. 1486) he was able to lay his scheme before the royal pair. Isabella, an able and instructed queen, from the first showed more interest in it than did her husband, whose education had been in camps, and all his mind was given to the war with Granada. As in Portugal, a commission, with the queen's confessor at its head, was charged to examine the project, which they dismissed as visionary and heretical. Yet Columbus, taken for a madman by the vulgar, found some influential favourers who still pressed the matter on royal notice, so that the foreign suitor came to be encouraged by donations, with a half-promise of further consideration when the Moorish war was over. He now won the love of a Spanish lady to replace his dead wife and to soothe years of anxious suspense which turned his hair grey before he was fifty, when he had cause to echo the complaint of Spenser, made at that very time—

> Full little knowest thou that hast not tried,
> What hell it is in suing long to bide:
> To lose good days that might be better spent,
> To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
> To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
> To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
> To have thy Prince's grace, yet want her peers';
> To have thy asking yet wait many years;
> To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
> To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs;
> To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
> To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.

Six weary years went by, during which Columbus sought in vain for any other patron who would fit out his adventure. He offered it to his native city, to Spanish nobles, once more to the king of Portugal; and his brother Bartholomew went to England, hoping to find favour with Henry VII, who did not catch at a scheme that would have such momentous results for his people. Thus the disappointed enthusiast hawked about his great idea, while the grudging of a few thousand crowns had almost cost Spain the mines of Mexico and

Peru. He was for turning to France, when sent for by the Spanish sovereigns, now engaged in the siege of Granada. He joined their camp, taking part in the final attacks, till at the opening of A.D. 1492 the city fell, and Spain was at last clear of the Moslem.

The royal council had now leisure to deliberate afresh upon what many judged a wild-goose chase across the ocean. Ferdinand seems to have been all along indifferent to the hopes of Columbus; but the queen still stood his friend, her pious spirit moved less by the prospects of gain he held out than by his zeal for the conversion of heathen nations still unknown: he himself designed to devote his own share of the profits to a Crusade for the deliverance of Jerusalem. A hitch in the negotiations arose through his stipulating for one-tenth of all precious metals in countries discovered by him, along with the high titles of Admiral of the Ocean and Viceroy in those new dominions. Such demands were treated by the council as extravagant and presumptuous; but Columbus held firm as to not letting his services go too cheap. Understanding them to be rejected, he had actually set out for France, but was recalled by Isabella, who declared that she would pawn her jewels if no other means could be found for fitting out the enterprise.

The famous voyage, then, was set on foot. Three vessels, two of them little better than sailing-boats, were equipped in the Andalusian port of Palos. The *Santa Maria*, on which the Admiral himself sailed, was a ship of about 100 tons, with a crew of some fifty men; and the whole expedition did not number a hundred. It was difficult to enlist so many for such an untried voyage; but Columbus was lucky enough to excite the interest of an influential ship-owning family named Pinzon, three of whom agreed to share his fortunes besides helping him to men and money. After all, jailbirds and other bad characters had to be pressed into the perilous service. So by August of this year the little fleet set sail from Palos, its crews having taken the sacrament together and bidden farewell to their friends as hardly expecting to return from their wild adventure.

With a fresh breeze they ran across to the Canaries, and so far all went well. But there a great outbreak of smoke and flame from the peak of Teneriffe appalled the sailors, who began to lose heart when they found themselves fairly launched upon the uncharted sea beyond. The very steadiness of the trade wind that bore them across the Atlantic dismayed them with the notion that it would never serve to bring them back, till it luckily shifted into the west for a day or so. All along the Spaniards were inclined to grumble at the foreign commander, who seemed to be steering them to death. Even he was disquieted by the westerly variation of the compass, a phenomenon unfamiliar to him as to his ignorant comrades, whom it filled with alarm. Another alarm was raised when they found themselves entangled in the Sargasso Sea, a mass of weed and drift whirled together in the middle of the Atlantic, where the ships seemed like to stick fast if a fair wind failed to plough them through such floating meadows. This, like the variation of the compass, Columbus had

to explain away as best he could, eagerly looking ahead for the greater wonders he beheld in his mind's eye. He himself was by no means free from delusions of ignorance. On the authority of a text in the Apocrypha he took the earth to be six parts land to one-seventh water, and undermeasured the width of the ocean which, as he understood, sundered Europe from Asia. Yet at the narrowest he feared its width would daunt his comrades, so by means of a false log he kept them deceived as to the true rate of their progress, he alone fully aware how fast they were being wafted over the ocean that stretched boundlessly around their tiny barks.

He had left the Canaries on 2 September, and after three weeks he calculated that he should be drawing near the islands of Asia. On the twenty-third there was a joyful hail of land, which turned out to be a deluding cloud. By the end of the month the men were ready to mutiny, and even the officers called on their leader to turn back; but he sternly declared his purpose of holding on to the Indies. It came to be said that there was a talk of throwing him overboard, to have done with his obstinacy, and that he had to beg his reluctant comrades to steer forward three days more, promising then to give up the search if no land came to view. But signs of land now thickened. Birds were seen flying south-west, in which direction he shifted his course. Reeds and sticks floated by, and a branch bearing fresh red berries. There came a change in the ocean bed, and the air, too, seemed loaded with such emanations as can sometimes let sailors scent out a coast not yet in sight.

On 11 October, the voyage of 3000 miles from the Canaries having now lasted a little over five weeks, Columbus felt so sure of being near land that he made his ships sail warily for fear of running ashore in the dark. Then, as darkness fell, to his unspeakable joy he caught a light twinkling ahead. After a night of excited suspense dawn lit up a green island; and from all the ships rose hymns of thanksgiving and triumph. At once the despairing crews changed their mood, throwing themselves with repentant tears at the feet of a leader whom they now exalted as wisest of men, and begged him to pardon their insolent want of trust.

There has been much controversy as to which island of the Bahama Archipelago was thus hit on by Columbus, that honour being chiefly in dispute between the adjacent Cat Island and Watling Island, but the claims of the latter seem now to prevail. The discoverer found it called Guanahani, which he piously christened San Salvador; its modern name it took from an English buccaneer when such worthies had their lairs here. On this flat island, about a dozen miles long, with a large lagoon filling up its centre, and a coral reef girdling it, Columbus hastened to land and take possession in the name of Spain, whose gorgeous standard was hoisted amid the wonder of the naked natives, as full of admiration for those white strangers, with their ships and shining weapons and thundering guns, as the sailors for the rich greenery and warm air of a new world. Their leader, who was to die

without rightly knowing what he had discovered, took the island to be an outlying part of Asia, not far from Cipango (Japan), that had been the goal of his voyage; and he supposed that beyond he would come upon the coast of China. Hence the mistaken name of West Indies which he bestowed on this region, and that of Red Indians which has stuck to its copper-coloured people so unfittingly.

The simple natives received their visitors kindly, no doubt taking them for supernatural beings. After some friendly barter, and getting such information from them as could be given by signs, the admiral sailed on with six Indians as prisoners, who might be made useful as guides when they had learned Spanish. Such kidnapping he looked on as necessary, but as a rule Columbus set an example of considerate humanity seldom imitated by his followers. The first enquiry of the Spaniards was always for gold, which was to be an *ignis fatuus* leading them too often to destruction. The sight of gold ornaments worn by naked Indians now raised bright hopes, but for the moment a supply of fresh water was of more value. Other islands were touched and taken formal possession of; then about the end of October the expedition anchored in a river mouth of Cuba, whose luxuriant vegetation charmed eyes long strained upon barren waves and mocking clouds.

From Cuba Columbus passed on to Haiti, still finding the natives friendly, if shy, and picking up a few words of their language to transplant into Europe—*tobacco*, *hammock*, and *cacique*. But now he had to suffer through his unruly subordinates. The *Pinta*, one of his consorts, deserted him to hunt for gold. His own ship, through disobedience to his orders, was wrecked on a sandbank. Only the *Niña*, a craft of about 40 tons, was left him for return. This being so, he built a fort on the coast now named Española (Hispaniola) in which some forty men volunteered to remain, on a promise that he would come back for them next year. With the rest, about thirty, including several young Indians captured for exhibition at home, he sailed in the *Niña* at the beginning of A.D. 1493. Before long they fell in again with the deserters on the *Pinta*, whose excuses the Admiral was fain to accept, and in company they turned back across the Atlantic, after having encountered a fiercer tribe of natives, when began the long story of bloodshed that was to befoul Spanish conquest in the New World.

The passage home was stormy, and at one time the adventurers believed themselves to escape foundering only by the pious expedient of drawing lots to settle which of them should perform pilgrimages and other devout actions as price of deliverance. In dread that his achievement might go to the winds, Columbus had a record of it corked up in a barrel and thrown overboard, which, if he went to the bottom, might haply reach the hands of his royal patrons. But after some anxious weeks he came safe to the Azores, ill received by their Portuguese governor, who was inclined to treat Spanish explorers as enemies. That danger also blew over, and by the middle of March the two ships reached Palos after an absence of some seven months.

At Lisbon, where he put in, Columbus had had the satisfaction of showing the Portuguese king what he had lost by despising the service first offered him. Hastening to send Ferdinand and Isabella a report of his discoveries, he entered Seville in triumph, with the Indians, parrots, and other wonders he brought as trophies of his discovery. Hence he was presently summoned to the court at Barcelona, now to be treated with all honour by sovereigns and people.

Over Europe spread news of the newly opened passage to India, as believed. Spain was now eager to grasp the prize she had won with so small a stake. The west coast of Africa having been already given to Portugal by Rome, that undertook the disposal of all lands belonging to no Christian prince, Pope Alexander VI, a Spaniard by birth, was easily brought to grant a similar licence on behalf of Spain. His famous Bull of A.D. 1493 drew a line down the Atlantic some 300 miles west of the Azores, to the westward of which the Spaniards were to be masters, as the Portuguese to the east; then, pushing their discoveries from either side, it was hoped that they might meet in the Spice Islands, or the mysterious realm of Prester John. This orthodox arrangement would not always be observed by Portugal, still less by English and French competitors when they came into the field; but for the next century the settlement of America was in the main a history of Spanish enterprise, and the wealth of the New World would flow chiefly into the coffers of Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella lost no time in ordering a new fleet to be fitted out, this time on a larger scale, with which Columbus should return to take effectual possession of the West Indian islands. But the sovereigns were ill served by some of their officials, whose jealousy of a foreign adventurer lent itself to obstruction and delay; and it was not till autumn that he could set sail with seventeen vessels containing some 1500 men. Unfortunately, as in most early colonizing enterprises, these were seldom of the right stamp for settlers, but rather broken spendthrifts, family ne'er-do-wells, idle gamblers of fortune, with no mind for hard work or obedience, while eager to grab at rumoured riches beyond the seas. Some of the leaders were better chosen; and among more worthy recruits the Admiral took his young brother Diego. Bartholomew Columbus, who had found employment in France, did not arrive in time, but was sent after his brother with a reinforcement of three ships.

The second voyage proved a halcyon one, lighted by high hopes. Columbus, now with no mutinous grudges to overcome, took a more southerly course, so as to strike the Lesser Antilles at Dominica, which, with neighbouring islands, was found peopled by savage Caribs, whose name seems corrupted into *cannibal*. And when, threading his way among countless islets of the Leeward chain, he reached Hispaniola, it was to learn that the natives were not always as harmless as had been his experience on the former visit. On coming off the fort where he had left the greater part of his crew, a salute called forth no answer; and the newcomers landed to find not a Christian soul within buildings

burned or broken down. Through friendly Indians they were given to understand that the whole garrison had perished of disease, in quarrels among themselves, and by massacre at the hands of a neighbouring chief. Such was the fate, often to be repeated, of the first European settlement in America.

Undaunted by that example, Columbus sought out a new site on the coast, where he founded a city named Isabella, and made it a base for exploring the country inland. But soon things began to go wrong. Lazy adventurers shrank from work under a hot sun. Sickness was bred, not only by the climate, but by the bad stores with which official knavery had provisioned the fleet. The finding of a little gold dust only whetted men's appetites for more, and increased their disgust with steady work. A mutinous spirit gathered head, shown in a plot to desert the settlement, and in outrages on the natives that destroyed such good relations as Columbus had been careful to maintain with them. He himself fell ill with fever, when the colony might have gone to pieces but for the arrival of his brother Bartholomew, who helped to restore obedience. As it was, a discontented party stole the three ships now brought from Spain, and sailed home to spread calumnies and complaints of the Admiral.

Bartholomew, indeed, arrived in the absence of his brother, who, sickly as he was, had gone off on a voyage of discovery. Passing between Hispaniola and Cuba he now came upon Jamaica, and returned round the south side of Hispaniola, which, thus shown to be an island, Columbus took for the Cipango of Marco Polo. He was so convinced of having found the mainland of Asia in Cuba that he made his ship's company sign a declaration of its being a continent, with penalties of fines or lashes denounced against anyone who should draw back from the opinion thus forced on them. At this time the Admiral seems to have been a little off his head, and he reached the settlement utterly prostrated by fever.

After his slow recovery he had to deal with troubles that were no fault of his. The insolence and cruelty of his followers had driven the natives to open war. Their leader was captured by a daring act, but myriads of naked warriors had to be met by a few hundred soldiers, whose equipment made such odds more than even. Poisoned arrows were the most formidable weapons the Indians brought to bear against iron-clad men who seemed to wield the mysterious power of the volcano in their death-dealing tubes. Not less terrible were the horses, that with their riders appeared as Centaurs; and no small part in the conquest was played by huge bloodhounds which the invaders had at their bidding, fierce as the "lions" and "tigers" of this western world. Reluctantly dragged into war, Columbus had little difficulty in scattering the hostile host with great slaughter and the taking of hundreds of prisoners.

On the vanquished tribes a tribute of gold and cotton was laid; and fresh discoveries of the precious metal inclined the Admiral to believe that he had hit on Solomon's Ophir. But now he had to think of his

enemies at home, where the deserters were stirring up ill will against him, and Fonseca, the Spanish bishop put at the head of the new colonial administration, all along showed a jealous and spiteful temper towards the foreign explorer. An official came out charged by the court to examine into his conduct as Viceroy. Appointing his brother Bartholomew Adelantado (governor) of the island, Christopher sailed for home to defend himself, taking excellent arguments in the shape of a quantity of gold dust and nuggets, as well as hundreds of Indian captives to be sold as slaves. Few as yet thought of slavery as cruel; rather the heathen were considered fortunate in the chance of true religious instruction. On this voyage home, indeed, food ran so short that some of the sailors were almost tempted to cannibalism on human flesh hardly recognized as that of a man and a brother.

After all, Columbus found himself well received by the sovereigns, who could not be insensible to the value of his services though not fully aware of the true import of his discoveries. Spain's rival, Portugal, was now fitting out the expedition of Vasco da Gama that sailed (A.D. 1497) to make the first visit to India round the Cape of Good Hope. Concerned to make good what promised a shorter passage to the Indies, Ferdinand and Isabella charily granted means for providing their Admiral with a fresh fleet and sending supplies to the colony. After two years' delay, in A.D. 1498 he sailed again, not making direct for Hispaniola, but steering farther south on what he still took for the east side of Asia. This time he struck Trinidad, and first saw what came to be called the Spanish Main, which now he mistook for a chain of islands, and believed himself to have found the earthly Paradise. Hence, turning north, he came to the south coast of Hispaniola, where his brother had by his directions transferred the headquarters of the colony to a new city christened San Domingo.

Bartholomew had done his best to govern an unruly crew; but part of them broke out into open mutiny, while Spanish outrages again drove the Indians to rebellion. By a mingling of concession and severity his brother was able to restore order, and for a year or so the colony seemed to be making progress, when a sudden blow fell upon its leaders. The enemies of the Columbus family had got the ear of the sovereigns to such effect that a foolish official named Bobadilla was sent out to supersede the brothers. He probably exceeded his instructions by sending them back in chains: it is doubtful how far Ferdinand and Isabella were concerned in what makes one of history's signal instances of ingratitude to a servant who had deserved so well at their hands. As soon as the ship was at sea the captain threw himself on his knees before Christopher, offering to undo his fetters; but the Admiral refused to be released till it should be done by the queen's orders. Treated as he was with respect by the men he had led to sight of amazing wonders, the proud explorer's heart must have been heavy and bitter within him during a voyage that threatened to be the end of his eager looking forward to further discoveries.

When the glorious adventurer reached Cadiz in chains, Spain was stirred to indignation, and even the court took shame for this interpretation of its orders. Isabella, always in sympathy with her protégé, was easily won by a letter he wrote in his defence; her consort also relented, after having been for a moment moved to suspicion of his Viceroy's pretensions. The brothers, at once released from fetters, were summoned to Granada, where king and queen rose from their throne as the Admiral knelt before them, and Isabella wept over his humiliation. A new governor was sent out with orders to displace Bobadilla in turn, Columbus being meanwhile kept about the court in renewed favour that for a time chiefly took the shape of promises. Always with a turn for mystical piety, given to hear guiding "voices", like Joan of Arc, he now buried himself in study of the Scriptures, collecting prophecies that seemed to bear upon his achievement, and brooding over the idea of recovering the Holy Sepulchre from the Turk, who had been sealing up beaten ways to India as he sought to open fresh ones. The old Adam in him would be naturally stirred against the power that had blighted the commerce of his native Genoa.

He had the mortification of seeing his monopoly of West Indian discovery encroached on by his own comrades and followers, several of whom were now licensed to undertake voyages without reference to his claims as Admiral; while his fellow-Genoese, John Cabot, sent out by Henry VII, was first to sight North America, which, like Columbus, he took for the dominions of the Great Khan of Cathay. No one as yet guessed that the labyrinth of western islands belonged to a new continent; so the effort was still to find some passage through them leading to the riches of India, now reached by Vasco da Gama's voyage round the Cape. The Gulf Stream had been for Columbus a hint that such a strait might be found beyond Jamaica; and, jealousy of Portugal prompting the Spanish Government, in A.D. 1502 he was again commissioned to follow up this notion with four ships.

Broken in health, the Admiral set out on this last voyage accompanied by his brother Bartholomew and his younger son Fernando. He had been forbidden to make for his own colony in Hispaniola; but the cranky state of his vessels obliged him to put in at San Domingo for assistance, where he found a large fleet gathered to take home Bobadilla and other old enemies of his, with a rich freight of gold that would go to excuse their offences. All help was churlishly refused him by Ovando, the new governor, who bid Columbus continue his voyage as best he could; then the Admiral returned good for evil by warning him of the approach of a hurricane, from which he himself took refuge in a bay along the coast, and by his seamanship rode out the danger his experience had foreseen. Not so fared the homeward-bound vessels that neglected his forecast. They had hardly left land before the storm burst, sending most of them to the bottom, among the rest that containing Bobadilla and his ill-gotten gold—a disaster which pious minds took for a judgment.

Columbus sailed on by Cuba, and there turned south, still failing

to find out that this was an island, round which he might have passed into the Gulf of Mexico. He came upon the mainland of Honduras, and coasted down the Mosquito Shore to the Isthmus of Panama, everywhere baffled in his hope of a strait. Provisions ran short, and he met with stormy weather, threatening to sink his barks, their unsheathed bottoms perilously bored by the shipworms of this region. From the natives he understood that there was much gold in a country called Veragua, which he took for the Golden Chersonese of antiquity. Here at the mouth of the Belem River, a little to the west of the town now called by his name, where at length opens the passage of a Panama Canal, he resolved to fix a colony, in hope of its being kept free from the crimes that had cursed Hispaniola.

But the fierce and suspicious natives had no mind to let strangers settle among them, and showed such hostility as would have been always more resolute could all Red Indians have foreseen what was to come upon them in the course of Spanish conquest. Columbus was about to sail for Spain to bring reinforcements, when his colony found itself fiercely attacked, and he had to turn to its help, with his last boat rescuing the garrison he would have left behind. The whole body escaped in two unseaworthy barks, making water so fast that there was nothing for it but to run them ashore on a sandy beach of Jamaica.

Here they remained marooned for a year, entering into friendly relations with the natives, who helped them to provisions. Two bold men undertook a canoe voyage to Hispaniola, nearly perishing of thirst on the way, and thus made their plight known to Ovando. But this self-seeking governor, given up to the cruelties that in half a century exterminated the Indian population, did not care to be interfered with by the Admiral, and months passed before he even sent a letter refusing his fellow countrymen the means of passing over to the colony. Meanwhile, idle and sickly, the stranded crew broke into mutiny, and ill-used the Indians, over whom Columbus was able to hold ascendancy by his foreknowledge of a lunar eclipse that in their eyes confirmed his character as a supernatural being. The mutineers had to be quelled in a fight that brought them to their knees. Meanwhile the colonists of San Domingo were so loudly calling shame on their governor that at last he let two ships cross to bring off that hapless band.

Columbus did not stay long at San Domingo, where he found himself but coldly welcomed by a successor whose atrocious doings he reprobated. In the autumn of 1504 he sailed for Spain, coming safe through a storm in which he had a last chance of showing his seamanship. He arrived just as his patroness Isabella died; and though Ferdinand received him civilly, the claims he put forward as to the rights and dues of his services were adjourned to that favourite Spanish date, *mañana*.

The prematurely aged voyager was never to go to sea again. Crippled by disease and broken-hearted by disappointments, he died

at Valladolid, A.D. 1506, his triumph darkened also by such regrets as Tennyson puts into his lips:—

> Cast off, put by, scouted by court and king—
> The first discoverer starves—his followers, all
> Flower into fortune—our world's way—and I,
> Without a roof that I can call mine own,
> With scarce a coin to buy a meal withal,
> And seeing what a door for scoundrel scum
> I open'd to the West, thro' which the lust,
> Villany, violence, avarice, of your Spain
> Pour'd in on all those happy naked isles—
> Their kindly native princes slain or slaved,
> Their wives and children Spanish concubines,
> Their innocent hospitalities quench'd in blood,
> Some dead of hunger, some beneath the scourge,
> Some over-labour'd, some by their own hands,—
> Yea, the dear mothers, crazing Nature, kill
> Their babies at the breast for hate of Spain—
> Ah God, the harmless people whom we found
> In Hispaniola's island-Paradise!
> Who took us for the very Gods from Heaven,
> And we have sent them very fiends from Hell;
> And I myself, myself not blameless, I
> Could sometimes wish I had never led the way.

"Slowly wise and meanly just", Spain imparted to his sons the reward due to Columbus, whose descendants became Spanish grandees bearing high-sounding titles, and soon taking for their proud motto:—

A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo Mundo dió Colon.

The younger son, Fernando, devoted himself to embalming his father's name by collecting memoirs and relics of the great explorer's career. Diego, the youngest of the Columbus brothers, gave up the sea to go into the Church. Bartholomew survived Christopher for some years. These two were buried together at Seville, their bodies being afterwards taken to the Cathedral of San Domingo; then in 1795, when Spain lost its first colony, they were transferred to Havana, and again in our own day brought back to Spain; but there is some doubt as to the authenticity of remains that have suffered so much honourable removal as those of Christopher Columbus.

The great injustice done him was by the whole world, that did not call his discovery by his name. That distinction fell unworthily to Amerigo Vespucci, an Italian provision contractor employed by Columbus, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century wrote an account of voyages he professed to have made, not without some question as to his truthfulness. He was no sailor, and, at the best, only went out in some inferior capacity. But his account, being

translated into foreign languages, attracted so much attention that his name stuck to what he called a New World, now gradually being revealed as a new continent; and he is said to have spread the mistake on maps he made of discoveries with which he had little to do. It has been supposed that an Indian word *Ammerique*, denoting a mountain ridge on the Central isthmus, had also some share in shaping the name which poetic justice has ineffectually attempted to overlay by *Columbia*.

More deserving explorers than Amerigo carried out the work of Columbus. A few years after his death Ponce de Leon landed in Florida, and Balboa crossed the isthmus to sight the Pacific Ocean. A few years more and Cortes would conquer Mexico; then Pizarro came to blast the Incas of Peru. When in 1519 Magellan began his famous voyage of circumnavigation the devastating flood of Spanish conquest was pouring over the islands and coasts of what Columbus had taken for the Indies; and Europe became aware of a continent whose resources and development would with unforeseen force react on her own history.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONSPECTUS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

II. FROM THE DEATH OF MOHAMMED TO THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS

THE MOHAMMEDAN ADVANCE: A.D. 632–732

A.D.

632. Mohammed succeeded by Abu-bekr, the first Caliph; BEGINNING OF THE CALIPHATE.

633. *Battle of Heathfield*: Edwin, King of Northumbria, overthrown and slain by Penda, heathen King of Mercia, in alliance with Welsh under Caedwalla.

634. *Battle of Ajnadain* (near Jerusalem): Saracens under Khaled defeated the army of Heraclius.

634. Omar became Caliph.

634. *Battle of Hexham*: Oswald defeated and slew Caedwalla and became King of Northumbria.

635. The Saracens captured Damascus.

635. St. Aidan went to Lindisfarne from Iona to re-Christianize Northumbria.

636. *Battle of Yermuk*: Saracen victory over Imperial troops sealed fate of Syria.

636. Rotharis King of the Lombards; a great legislator.

637. *Battle of Cadesia*: Saracens defeated the Persians and conquered western Persian provinces.

637. Saracens captured Ctesiphon in Persia.

637. Saracens captured Jerusalem; the Temple became a mosque.

638. Saracens captured Aleppo and Antioch.

639. Death of Dagobert I, last notable Merovingian King of the Franks; Mayors of the Palace became the real rulers in Austrasia (eastern division of kingdom), Neustria (western division), and Burgundy; nominal kings called *rois fainéants* ("do-nothing kings").

A.D.

640. Saracens began conquest of Egypt under Amru.

641. Heraclius succeeded in the Empire by his sons, Constantine III and Heracleonas.

641. *Battle of Nehavend*: Saracens defeated Persians and OVERTHREW THE SASSANID DYNASTY; last Sassanid king, Yezdegerd III, died a fugitive in 651.

642. Constans II Emperor.

642. Saracens occupied Alexandria.

642. *Battle of Maserfeld* (*Oswestry*): Oswald of Northumbria defeated and killed by Penda of Mercia.

644. Othman became Caliph.

647. Saracens began conquest of Africa.

649. Saracens conquered Cyprus.

653. Aribert first Catholic King of the Lombards.

654. Saracens conquered Rhodes.

655. Great naval victory of Saracens over Greeks off Lycian coast.

655. *Battle of the Winwaed*: Penda of Mercia defeated and slain by the Northumbrians under Oswy.

656. Othman murdered; Ali became Caliph.

659. Wulfhere became King of Mercia and restored Mercian power.

660. Sect of Paulicians, followers of St. Paul, founded in Armenia by Constantine.

661. Ali murdered; Moawiya first of the OMMIADE CALIPHS, with seat at Damascus.

A.D.

662. Emperor Constans II went to Italy and tried to recover part of it.

664. SYNOD OF WHITBY: Oswy of Northumbria decided for Roman against Celtic Christianity.

668. Constantine IV became Emperor, after Constans II had been assassinated in Italy.

668. Death of Samo, a Frank who had founded a great Slav kingdom in the Danube valley, after a long reign.

669. Theodore of Tarsus reached England as Archbishop of Canterbury; introduced Greek learning and organized the English Church.

670. Caedmon the father of English poetry.

670. Aquitaine about this time broke away from Frankish rule.

671. Egfrith King of Northumbria.

672. Wamba the last great King of the Visigoths.

673. First Arab siege of Constantinople began.

675. Slavs and Bulgars overran Macedonia, &c.

677. Arabs abandoned siege of Constantinople and agreed to pay tribute; GREEK FIRE used by defenders.

679. Bulgarians under Isperich occupied Moesia and settled there.

680. SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH, at Constantinople; continued into 681.

685. Justinian II became Emperor.

685. *Battle of Nechtansmere*: Egfrith of Northumbria defeated and slain by the Picts under Brude; Northumbria never recovered its power.

687. *Battle of Tertry*: Pepin of Heristal, the Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, defeated the Neustrian Mayor of the Palace, and became virtual ruler over the whole Frankish kingdom.

687. Death of St. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne and Apostle of the Lothians.

688. Ine first great king of Wessex: a law-maker.

689. Pepin defeated the Frisians.

690. St. Willibrord, an Anglo-Saxon, became Bishop of Frisia, which he Christianized.

693. *Battle of Sebastopolis*: Greeks defeated by the Saracens.

695. Leontius usurped the Empire.

697. First Doge of Venice elected.

698. Saracens captured Carthage.

698. Tiberius III usurped the Empire.

A.D.

705. Justinian II recovered the Empire and perpetrated great cruelties.

709. Pepin defeated the Alamanni.

709. Death of St. Wilfrid, who had been Bishop of York, &c.

710. Saracen conquest of Africa complete.

710. Saracens began conquest of Transoxiana; they reached India.

710. Roderick King of the Visigoths.

710. First Saracen invasion of Spain.

711. Second Saracen invasion of Spain under Tarik; VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM OVERTHROWN in *Battle of Xeres or Guadalete or Lake Janda*; Toledo, the capital, captured; oppressed Jews welcomed invaders.

711. Justinian II put to death; Philippicus became Emperor.

712. Liutprand King of the Lombards; aimed at unifying Italy under the Lombard monarchy.

713. *Battle of Segoyuela*: Saracens again victorious over Visigoths; King Roderick slain.

713. Anastasius II usurped the Empire.

714. Death of Pepin of Heristal.

716. Theodosius III usurped the Empire.

717. Leo III (the Isaurian) became Emperor.

717. Second Arab Siege of Constantinople began by land and sea under Moslemah, brother of the Caliph Soliman; Saracens routed in 718 with the help of the Bulgarians and by means of Greek fire; THE EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY SAVED.

717. *Battle of Vincy*: Charles Martel, son of Pepin of Heristal, defeated the Neustrians and became virtual ruler of the Franks.

717. Church of Iona conformed to the Roman usage.

718. Charles Martel ravaged the country of the Saxons (in North Germany).

719. *Battle of Soissons*: Charles Martel again defeated the Neustrians and strengthened his power.

720. Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and captured Narbonne, &c.

721. Saracen attack on Toulouse repelled by Eudes (Eudo), Duke of Aquitaine.

722. St. Boniface, an Anglo-Saxon, went as Papal missionary to Germany under the protection of Charles Martel.

724. Charles Martel ravaged Frisia.

725. Saracens took Carcassonne and Nîmes.

A.D.

725. Charles Martel fought against the Bavarians.

726. Leo III began his campaign against the worship of images, thus opening the prolonged and momentous ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY; he was opposed by the Pope Gregory II.

731. The Pope Gregory III summoned a council at Rome which condemned the Iconoclasts; this breach between the Pope and the Empire made the Roman Republic virtually independent of the Empire but under Papal influence.

731. Saracens under Abderrahman advanced to conquer France.

731. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* completed.

732. *Battle of Tours or Poitiers*: Charles Martel defeated and drove back the Saracens, thus SAVING WESTERN CIVILIZATION FOR CHRISTIANITY.

THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE: A.D. 733–814

733. Ethelbald of Mercia became suzerain of Wessex, &c.

737. Angus MacFergus, King of the Picts, subdued the Scots of Dalriada.

739. Pope Gregory III appealed to Charles Martel for help against the Lombards, who, under Liutprand, were besieging Rome.

740. Constantine V became Emperor.

741. Death of Charles Martel: Frankish kingdom divided between his sons Pepin the Short and Carloman.

747. Carloman became a monk, leaving Pepin sole master of the Franks.

750. Ommiade dynasty of Caliphs overthrown and replaced by the ABBASSIDES.

750. Cynewulf, Anglo-Saxon poet.

751. Pepin the Short, with the consent of Pope Zacharias, was crowned King of the Franks at Soissons, superseding the nominal Merovingian Childeric III: BEGINNING OF THE CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY.

751. Ravenna captured by the Lombards: END OF THE EXARCHATE.

752. *Battle of Burford*: Cuthred of Wessex defeated Ethelbald of Mercia.

754. Pope Stephen II concluded an alliance with Pepin, whom he anointed as King of the Franks and Patrician of the Romans.

754. Pepin invaded Italy and repelled the Lombards under Aistulf; he granted the lands of the Exarchate to the Pope; BEGINNING OF THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE PAPACY.

754. Iconoclastic Synod at Constantinople.

755. Abderrahman founded the Emirate (afterwards Caliphate) of Cordova in Spain as a secession from the Abbasside Caliphate.

756. Pepin again in Italy to subdue the Lombards.

756. Strathclyde subdued by Angus the Pictish king and Eadbert of Northumbria.

757. Offa became King of Mercia and made himself overlord of England.

758. Pepin fought against the heathen Saxons, between the Rhine and the Elbe.

759. Pepin took Narbonne from the Saracens.

760. Pepin began conquest of Aquitaine; completed in 768.

766. The Abbassides removed the Caliphate to Baghdad.

768. Death of Pepin; Frankish kingdom divided between his sons Charlemagne (Charles the Great) and Carloman.

770. Dissolution of the monasteries by the Eastern Emperor.

771. Death of Carloman; Charlemagne sole King of the Franks.

772. Charlemagne began his wars against the Saxons, whose chief leader was Widukind.

773. Desiderius, King of the Lombards, attacked the Pope, Adrian I, who appealed to Charlemagne.

774. Charlemagne captured Pavia and OVERTHREW THE LOMBARD KINGDOM; had himself crowned King of the Lombards; renewed Pepin's donation of territory to the Pope.

775. Leo IV became Emperor.

776. Charlemagne again in Italy to repress the Lombards.

777. *Battle of Bensington*: Offa of Mercia defeated Cynewulf of Wessex.

778. Charlemagne invaded Spain and took Pampeluna; origin of the Spanish March (established 795). His rearguard cut to pieces by Basques at *Roncesvalles*; Roland killed.

780. Constantine VI became Emperor, with his mother Irene as regent. The latter opposed the Iconoclasts.

781. Eastern Empire abandoned claims to the Pontifical State in Italy.

782. Alcuin, a British scholar, went to Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) to organize the palace school of Charlemagne.

A.D.

782. The Eastern Empire paid tribute to the great Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid.

787. SEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH, at Nicæa.

788. Charlemagne finally conquered Bavaria, Duke Tassilo being deposed.

789. Constantin I King of the Picts.

790. Constantine VI proclaimed sole Emperor.

793. First Danish raid on Britain, at Lindisfarne.

795. First attack of the Norsemen or Northmen on Ireland.

796. Charlemagne conquered the Avars, and they disappear from history.

797. Irene blinded Constantine VI and ruled alone.

798. The Norsemen ravaged the Isle of Man.

800. Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the West by Pope Leo III in St. Peter's at Rome on Christmas Day; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE FOUNDED.

A.D.

801. Charlemagne received an embassy from Haroun-al-Raschid.

802. Nicephorus I dethroned Irene and became Eastern Emperor.

802. First Norse raid on Iona.

804. Charlemagne completed the conquest of the Saxons and compelled them to accept Christianity.

806. The Norsemen desolated Iona.

807. The Norsemen attacked west coast of Ireland.

810. The Frisian coast ravaged by Northmen.

811. Nicephorus I slain in a war against the Bulgarians under Krum; Michael I became Eastern Emperor, after Stauracius had reigned a few months.

812. Michael I acknowledged Charlemagne as Western Emperor.

813. Michael I defeated by Bulgarians and dethroned; Leo V became Eastern Emperor.

814. Death of Charlemagne.

THE EMERGENCE OF FRANCE AND GERMANY: A.D. 814–887

814. Louis the Pious (Louis I of France), or Louis the Debonnaire, became King of the Franks and Western Emperor on the death of his father Charlemagne.

817. Partition of Aachen: Louis the Pious divided his kingdom among his sons.

818. Bernard, King of Italy, nephew of Louis the Pious, revolted; defeated and put to death.

820. Eastern Emperor Leo V murdered; Michael II became Eastern Emperor.

820. Norse raids on Ireland: beginning of worst period.

824. Iona raided by the Norsemen for the third time.

825. *Battle of Gafulford*: Egbert of Wessex conquered the West Welsh (in Cornwall).

825. *Battle of Ellandune*: Egbert of Wessex defeated Beornwulf of Mercia. Kent conquered about same time and East Saxons submitted.

826. Crete taken by the Saracens.

827. Saracen conquest of Sicily began.

829. Theophilus became Eastern Emperor.

829. Egbert of Wessex conquered Mercia.

833. *The Field of Lies*: Louis the Pious compelled by his sons to abdicate.

834. Danish ravages in Britain recommenced: Sheppey attacked.

834. Northmen sacked Dorstadt and Utrecht.

835. Louis the Pious restored to his kingdom.

836. Northmen sacked Antwerp, &c.; attacked Dorsetshire.

838. Norsemen under Thorgils captured Dublin, after desolating much of Ireland.

838. *Battle of Hengestesdun*: Egbert of Wessex defeated a combination of Danes and West Welsh.

839. Ethelwulf became King of Wessex and England.

840. Saracens made conquests in Southern Italy.

840. Death of Louis the Pious: his sons fell to fighting; Lothair I, the eldest son, became Western Emperor.

841. Northmen under Oscar sacked Rouen.

841. *Battle of Fontenoy*: Louis the German and Charles the Bald, sons of Louis the Pious, defeated their brother Lothair I.

842. Louis the German and Charles the Bald exchanged the OATHS OF STRASSBURG in Romance and German, the earliest document of the French and German languages.

842. Saracens captured Bari in South Italy and made it their base.

842. Michael III became Eastern Emperor under the guardianship of his mother

A.D.

Theodora, who finally restored image-worship.

843. TREATY OF VERDUN: the Frankish Empire partitioned between Louis the German (Eastern or German part), Charles the Bald (Western or French part; Charles II of France), and Emperor Lothair I (Italy and a part between France and Germany): the beginning of France and Germany as distinct states.

843. Northmen wintered on an island (Noirmoutier) at the mouth of the Loire.

844. Northmen raided on Spanish coast, but driven off.

844. Kenneth MacAlpin, King of the Scots, became also King of the Picts: BEGINNING OF SCOTTISH KINGDOM.

845. Malachy, King of Meath, defeated and slew Thorgils, Norse King of Northern Ireland.

845. Northmen destroyed Hamburg; Paris partly destroyed by Northmen under Ragnar.

845. *Battle of Ballon*: Charles the Bald defeated by Bretons.

846. Danes defeated in Somerset.

846. Saracens sacked Rome.

848. Northmen took Bordeaux.

848. Norse defeated in Ireland.

849. *Battle of Ostia*: Saracens defeated in naval battle at mouth of Tiber, largely owing to Pope Leo IV.

850. John Scotus (Erigena), an Irish scholar and theologian, flourished about this time at court of Charles the Bald; a pioneer of scholasticism, but regarded as heretical.

851. *Battle of Juvardeil*: Bretons defeated Charles the Bald.

851. Great Danish attack on England under Roric; Canterbury burnt; London plundered.

851. *Battle of Aclea*: Ethelwulf of Wessex completely defeated the Danish invaders.

853. Danes landed in Thanet.

855. Death of Emperor Lothair I; his son Louis II became Emperor and King of Italy; another son, Lothair, became King of Lotharingia or Lorraine (the central kingdom of his father); and a third son, Charles, became King of Provence.

855. Danes wintered in Sheppey.

858. Ethelbald became King of Wessex and England.

858. Nicholas I became Pope; final breach between Eastern and Western Churches.

A.D.

860. Ethelbert became King of Wessex and England.

860. Donald became King of Scotland.

860. Danes under Weland captured Winchester, capital of Wessex; then defeated.

862. Swedish invasion of Russia under Rurik; a state founded with Novgorod as capital, afterwards Kiev, THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIA; Swedes became absorbed by the Slavs.

863. Death of Charles, King of Provence; his kingdom fell mostly to Emperor Louis II, King of Italy.

864. Boris, King of Bulgarians, baptized as a Christian.

865. Danes wintered in Thanet.

865. Russian attack on Constantinople.

866. Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou, killed in battle against the Northmen.

866. Ethelred I became King of Wessex and England.

866. "Great Army" of Danes under Ingwar and Hubba in East Anglia.

866. Emperor Louis II routed the Saracens.

867. Michael III murdered; Basil I became Eastern Emperor, founding Macedonian dynasty.

867. Danes captured York: Northumbrian kingdom overthrown.

867. Scotland ravaged by Danes from Ireland under Olaf the White, King of Dublin.

868. Saracens captured Malta.

869. Death of Lothair, King of Lorraine.

870. TREATY OF MERSEN: Lorraine divided between Charles the Bald and Louis the German; France and Germany conterminous.

870. Danes from Northumbria invaded East Anglia; death of St. Edmund, King of East Anglia, in *Battle of Hoxne*.

870. EIGHTH GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH, at Constantinople.

871. Danes invaded Wessex; captured Reading; defeated in *Battle of Ashdown*; successful in *Battle of Basing*; *Battle of Marden* indecisive.

871. Alfred the Great became King of Wessex and England.

871. *Battle of Wilton*: Alfred defeated by the Danes, who wintered in London.

871. Olaf the White, from Ireland, invaded Strathclyde and took Dumbarton.

A.D.

871. Emperor Louis II captured Bari, the Saracen headquarters in South Italy, with naval help from the Eastern Emperor Basil I.

872. *Battle of Halfsfjord*: Harold Haarfager became sole King of Norway.

874. Iceland colonized by Norwegians.

874. Danes put an end to the Mercian kingdom.

875. Death of Emperor Louis II; Charles the Bald became Western Emperor.

875. Norse Earldom of Orkney established by Harold Haarfager.

875. Danish attacks on Wessex renewed.

875. Thorstein the Red, son of Olaf the White, conquered a large part of Scotland; killed.

876. Death of Louis the German: Charles the Fat became German King.

876. *Battle of Andernach*: Charles the Bald defeated.

877. Death of Charles the Bald: his son, Louis II (the Stammerer), became King of France.

877. Danes divided up Mercia.

877. *Battle of Dollar*: Constantin II of Scotland defeated by Northmen.

877. *Battle of Forgan*: Constantin II defeated and slain by Northmen.

878. Danes under Guthrum attacked Wessex.

878. *Battle of Ethandun*: Guthrum defeated by Alfred.

A.D.

878. TREATY OF WEDMORE: Peace between Alfred and the Danes; Guthrum baptized as a Christian; England divided between the two peoples.

878. Saracens took Syracuse, almost completing conquest of Sicily.

879. Death of Louis II; Louis III and Carloman, his sons, became joint Kings of France.

879. Boso became independent King of Burgundy or Kingdom of Arles.

881. Charles the Fat crowned Emperor at Rome.

881. Danes sacked Aachen.

881. *Battle of Saucourt*: Louis III and Carloman defeated the Danes or Northmen.

882. Death of Louis III; Carloman sole King of France.

882. Treaty of Elsloo: Charles the Fat compromised with the Danes.

884. Death of Carloman, King of France: Charles the Fat chosen King of France; REUNION OF MOST OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE.

885. Northmen under Rollo besieged Paris.

886. Paris saved from the Northmen by Odo (or Eudes), Count of Paris.

886. Leo VI became Eastern Emperor.

886. Alfred recovered London from the Danes.

887. Charles the Fat deposed; FINAL BREAK-UP OF FRANKISH EMPIRE.

VIKING AND MAGYAR SETTLEMENTS: A.D. 887–962

887. On deposition of Charles the Fat, Arnulf became King of Germany, and Odo, Count of Paris, King of West Franks.

887. Louis the Blind succeeded Boso as King of Cisjuran Burgundy (Arles); Rudolph I founded kingdom of Transjuran Burgundy further north.

888. Berengar of Friuli King of Italy.

888. Third siege of Paris by Northmen; bought off by Odo.

888. Odo defeated Northmen in Champagne.

888. Saracens or Moors settled on Provençal coast and penetrated inland.

891. *Battle of Louvain*: Arnulf, King of Germany, defeated the Northmen.

891. Guido of Spoleto became Emperor and King of Italy after defeating Berengar.

893. Civil War between Odo and the Carolingian Charles the Simple; the latter admitted to a share in the kingdom.

893. Simeon founded a great BULGARIAN EMPIRE, which fell to pieces after his death.

893. Great Danish invasion of England under Hastings; Danes defeated at *Farnham* and *Bemfleet*.

895. Arnulf overthrew Guido and became King of Italy.

895. Alfred the Great captured the Danish fleet.

895. MAGYARS or Hungarians under Arpad invaded Hungary, where they settled down permanently.

896. Arnulf was crowned Emperor at Rome.

898. Charles the Simple King of France on the death of Odo.

899. Arnulf succeeded as German King by Louis the Child.

A.D.

900. Edward the Elder succeeded Alfred the Great.

900. Constantin III King of Scotland.

901. Louis the Blind (of Provence) crowned Emperor as Louis III.

902. *Battle of the Holme*: Edward the Elder defeated the Danes of Northumbria.

903. Magyars reached the Elbe.

904. Sergius III became Pope; degradation of the Papacy under the influence of Theodora, wife of Theophylact, consul of Rome, and her daughter Marozia.

904. Constantin III of Scotland expelled the Danes.

904. Saracens raided Salonica.

905. Louis the Blind blinded by Berengar.

906. Magyars completed conquest of Hungary.

907. Magyars invaded Bavaria.

907. Russian fleet under Oleg attacked Constantinople.

908. Magyars ravaged Thuringia.

909. Magyars ravaged Suabia.

909. Fatimite Caliphate founded in North Africa by Obaidallah.

910. *Battle of Augsburg*: Louis the Child defeated by the Magyars.

910. *Battle of Tottenhall*: Edward the Elder severely defeated the Danes.

910. Foundation of CLUNY ABBEY in Eastern France; became the centre of a monastic reformation.

911. Conrad I of Franconia succeeded Louis the Child as German King.

911. Charles the Simple acquired Lotharingia or Lorraine.

911. Saracens destroyed the Greek fleet.

911. TREATY OF ST. CLAIR-SUR-EPTE; the Northmen, under Rollo, allowed by Charles the Simple to settle in the land that became Normandy.

912. Constantine VII became Eastern Emperor; his uncle Alexander being Regent and Joint Emperor.

913. Kingdom of Leon founded.

913. Magyars penetrated to Rhine.

914. Bulgarians captured Adrianople.

915. Berengar crowned Emperor.

916. *Battle of the Garigliano*: Saracens defeated by Romans under Theophylact and Alberic, husband of Marozia.

916. Pope John X formed a league against the Moors in South Italy.

A.D.

916. Edward the Elder and his sister Ethelfled, the Lady of the Mercians, recovered Eastern Mercia from the Danes.

916. *Battle of Tempsford*: Danes heavily defeated by Edward the Elder.

916. *Battle of Maldon*: Edward the Elder victorious over the Danes; East Anglia recovered.

917. Edward the Elder's victories over the Danes continued; death of Ethelfled.

918. Henry I (the Fowler) became German King; beginning of Saxon Line.

919. Romanus I became co-Emperor in the East with Constantine VII.

919. Edward the Elder received the homage of all the northern kings in Britain.

922. Robert I, Duke of France, brother of Odo, crowned King of France, Charles the Simple having been displaced.

923. *Battle of Soissons*: Robert I, King of France, killed, though victorious over Charles the Simple's supporters; Hugh the Great became Duke of France and Rudolph I of Burgundy King of France; Charles the Simple henceforth a prisoner.

923. Saracen fleet destroyed at Lemnos.

924. Nine years' truce between Henry I and the Magyars; Magyars ravaged Italy.

924. Berengar, Emperor and King of Italy, assassinated.

924. Athelstan King of England.

926. Hugh of Provence became King of Italy.

927. William Longsword succeeded Rollo as Duke of Normandy.

927. Odo became Abbot of Cluny and started the Cluniac reformation.

927. Death of Simeon of Bulgaria.

928. Henry I took Brandenburg from the Slavs.

929. Emirate of Cordova became a Caliphate; henceforward three Caliphates.

932. Alberic, son of Marozia, expelled Hugh of Provence from Rome, and became head of the commune.

933. *Battle of Merseburg*: Henry I defeated the Magyars.

933. The two Burgundian kingdoms (Cisjuran and Transjuran) united.

934. Haakon I became King of Norway.

936. Otto I (the Great) became German King.

936. Louis IV (d'Outremer) became King of France.

A.D.

937. Magyars invaded Burgundy and Aquitaine.

937. *Battle of Brunanburh*: Athelstan defeated a combination of Scots, Danes, and Northumbrians.

938. Alan of the Twisted Beard expelled Normans from Brittany.

939. Otto I conquered Lorraine.

940. Edmund became King of England.

940. Harold Bluetooth King of Denmark.

941. Russian raid defeated by Byzantine fleet.

942. Richard the Fearless became Duke of Normandy.

942. Malcolm I became King of Scotland on Constantin III's abdication.

943. Dunstan became Abbot of Glastonbury.

944. *Battle of Wels*: Magyars defeated by Bavarians.

944. Romanus I deposed.

946. Eadred became King of England.

947. Magyars again invaded Italy and Aquitaine.

948. Eadred suppressed a Northumbrian rebellion.

950. Berengar of Ivrea became King of Italy.

A.D.

951. Otto I invaded Italy and made Berengar do homage.

954. Death of Alberic, the head of the Roman commune.

954. Lothair King of France.

954. Malcolm I of Scotland fell in battle; succeeded by Indulph, who made Dunedin or Edinburgh Scottish.

955. *Battle of Augsburg* (*Lechfeld*): Otto I defeated Magyars, who henceforward confined themselves to Hungary; also defeated the Slavs. East Mark, afterwards Austria, refounded.

955. Eadwig became King of England.

956. Death of Hugh the Great; succeeded as Duke of France by Hugh Capet.

958. Romanus II Eastern Emperor.

959. Edgar became King of England.

960. Dunstan became Archbishop of Canterbury.

961. Otto I again in Italy; crowned King of Italy at Pavia.

961. Nicephorus conquered Crete from the Saracens.

961. Haakon I of Norway killed in battle.

962. Otto I crowned Western Emperor at Rome: REVIVAL OF HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE after a period of "Phantom Emperors".

THE SAXON EMPERORS: A.D. 962–1024

962. Dubh became King of Scotland.

962. Byzantine victories under Nicephorus over Saracens in Asia Minor.

962. Mieczyslaw I became ruler of Poland; accepted Christianity in 966.

963. Basil II Eastern Emperor, with Nicephorus II (Phocas) and Constantine VIII as co-Emperors.

964. Nicephorus Phocas began conquest of Cilicia from the Saracens.

967. Cuilean King of Scotland.

968. Nicephorus Phocas conquered Northern Syria.

969. Nicephorus Phocas murdered by his nephew John Zimisces, who became co-Emperor.

971. John Zimisces drove back the Russians from Thrace and other Balkan lands.

971. Kenneth II King of Scotland.

972. Death of Sviatoslav, the Russian ruler.

973. Otto II became Emperor in the West.

975. Edward the Martyr King of England.

976. Death of John Zimisces; Basil II came into power.

976. Samuel became King of Bulgaria; he made extensive conquests and built up a Bulgarian Empire.

976. Otto II deposed Henry the Quarrelsome, Duke of Bavaria.

978. Murder of Edward the Martyr; Ethelred II (the Unready) became King of England.

978. Lothair of France invaded Lorraine.

980. Otto II went to Italy; aimed at conquering Southern Italy.

980. Vikings attacked Southampton, Thanet, and Chester.

980. Vladimir I (St. Vladimir) became Russian ruler.

980. *Battle of Tara*: Malachy II, King of Meath, defeated the Danes in Ireland.

982. Greenland discovered by the Norwegians.

982. Otto II heavily defeated in Italy by combined Byzantine and Saracen forces.

A.D.

983. Otto III became German King.

985. Duke Henry of Bavaria restored.

986. Death of Harold Bluetooth of Denmark; Sweyn Forkbeard became Danish King.

986. Louis V King of France.

987. Death of Louis V; Hugh Capet, son of Hugh the Great, became King of France, with Paris as capital; founder of the long CAPETIAN DYNASTY.

988. Russian Duke Vladimir became a Christian.

990. *Pax Ecclesiæ*, restricting private warfare, first introduced in Southern France.

991. Olaf Tryggveson of Norway raided the British Islands (till 994).

991. *Battle of Maldon*: Danes bought off by Ethelred II.

992. Boleslaus I became ruler of Poland.

993. Danes sacked Bamborough.

994. Sweyn Forkbeard and Olaf Tryggveson attacked London, but driven off. Ethelred again bought them off.

995. Olaf Tryggveson became Olaf I King of Norway; imposed Christianity on his people.

995. Constantin IV King of Scotland.

996. Richard the Fearless succeeded by Richard the Good as Duke of Normandy.

996. Robert II (the Pious) became King of France.

996. Otto III crowned Emperor at Rome.

997. Vikings again attacked Wessex.

997. Kenneth III King of Scotland.

997. Stephen I became ruler of Hungary.

998. *Battle of Veszprem*: Stephen I of Hungary victorious over rebels; took title of King, which the Pope confirmed in 1001.

998. Crescentius, patrician of Rome, put to death: Otto III master of Rome.

999. Gerbert of Aurillac became Pope as Silvester II.

1000. *Battle of Svold*: Norwegians defeated in naval battle by combined Swedes and Danes; Norway divided between the conquerors.

1000. Leif Ericsson, a Norwegian, discovered Vinland, part of Canada.

1000. *Battle of Glenmama*: Malachy II and Brian Boru, Irish rivals, combined and defeated the Danes.

A.D.

1000. Revival of legal studies at Bologna: celebrated university founded later.

1001. Danes again bought off from Wessex.

1002. Henry II, son of Henry the Quarrelsome, became German King.

1002. Ardoin of Ivrea crowned King of Italy.

1002. The Saracens took Sardinia.

1002. Massacre of Danes in England on St. Brice's Day.

1002. A second Crescentius became patrician of Rome and ruled till his death in 1012.

1003. Boleslaus I of Poland conquered Bohemia.

1003. Sweyn again invaded England.

1004. Ardoin overthrown in Italy; Henry II became King of the Lombards.

1005. Malcolm II King of Scotland.

1006. Boleslaus I of Poland gave up Bohemia.

1007. Danes again bought off from England by Ethelred II.

1009. Another Danish invasion of England.

1012. Ethelred II again bought off Danes.

1013. Sweyn again invaded England; flight of Ethelred II; Danish conquest.

1014. Death of Sweyn; his son Canute became King of England.

1014. Olaf II (St. Olaf) became King of Norway.

1014. Crushing defeat of Bulgaria by Basil II, followed by death of Samuel, King of Bulgaria; his empire fell to pieces.

1014. *Battle of Clontarf*: Danes heavily defeated in Ireland by Brian Boru, but Brian himself killed.

1014. Henry II crowned Emperor at Rome.

1015. Death of Vladimir I of Russia.

1015. Duchy of Burgundy annexed to the French monarchy by Robert II.

1016. Death of Ethelred II; Edmund Ironside fought against Canute, but defeated at *Assandun*; partition of kingdom arranged, but death of Edmund left Canute sole king.

1018. Effectual beginning of County of Holland.

1018. Basil II, the Bulgar-slayer, completed the conquest of Bulgaria.

1018. *Battle of Carham*: Scotland annexed Lothian.

1022. Catharist heretics burned at Orleans.

1024. Death of Henry II.

THE FRANCONIAN EMPERORS: A.D. 1024–1125

A.D.

1024. Conrad II elected German King: FIRST OF FRANCONIAN EMPERORS.

1025. Constantin VIII sole Eastern Emperor.

1025. Death of Boleslaus I, King of Poland.

1027. Conrad II crowned Emperor at Rome.

1027. Truce of God, restricting private war, first proclaimed in Southern France.

1028. Romanus III Eastern Emperor.

1028. Fall of Caliphate of Cordova.

1028. Ferdinand I (the Great) King of Castile.

1030. Normans began conquest of Southern Italy or Apulia.

1030. *Battle of Stiklestad*: Norway overthrown and annexed by Denmark.

1030. SELJUK TURKS began aggression in Asia Minor.

1031. Henry I King of France.

1032. Lusatia recovered from Poland by Emperor Conrad II.

1032. Duchy of Burgundy bestowed on King Henry's brother Robert: line lasted till 1361.

1033. Kingdom of Burgundy annexed to Empire by Conrad II.

1034. Duncan King of Scotland.

1034. Michael IV Eastern Emperor.

1035. William the Conqueror became Duke of Normandy.

1035. Canute's sons, Hardicanute and Harold, joint rulers of England.

1037. Norway recovered its independence of Denmark.

1037. Harold King of all England.

1037. Bretislav I Prince of Bohemia (conquered Moravia, Silesia, much of Poland, &c.).

1038. Ferdinand I of Castile acquired Leon also (Emperor in Spain).

1039. Henry III German King.

1040. Macbeth King of Scotland.

1040. Hardicanute King of England.

1041. Bohemia made subject to the Empire.

1041. Michael V Eastern Emperor.

1042. Edward the Confessor King of England.

1042. Emperor Michael V deposed: Constantine IX Eastern Emperor.

1043. Unsuccessful Russian expedition against Constantinople.

A.D.

1044. Henry III defeated Hungarians.

1044. Seljuks captured Edessa.

1046. Anarchy in Rome: three rivals for Papacy: Henry III called in and chose Clement II, who crowned him Emperor.

1046. The Norman Robert Guiscard arrived in S. Italy.

1047. *Battle of Val-ès-Dunes*: William of Normandy, aided by King Henry I, defeated revolted nobles.

1049. Harold Hardrada King of Norway.

1050. Emund succeeded Anund as King of Sweden.

1051. Fall of Earl Godwin in England.

1051. Emperor Henry III subdued Hungary.

1052. Earl Godwin's triumphant return.

1053. *Battle of Civitella*: Robert Guiscard, the Norman, defeated Papal forces; made agreement with Pope Leo IX.

1054. Scotland invaded by Siward.

1054. *Battle of Mortemer*: William of Normandy defeated the French royal forces.

1054. Death of Yaroslav the Great, Grand Duke of Russia.

1054. Breach between Eastern and Western Churches complete.

1054. Theodora Eastern Empress.

1055. Seljuk Turks under Togrul Beg occupied Baghdad, and restored authority of the Caliph.

1056. Henry IV German King.

1056. Michael VI Eastern Emperor: last of the Macedonian dynasty.

1057. Malcolm III (Canmore) King of Scotland.

1057. Isaac I (Comnenus) Eastern Emperor after dethroning Michael VI: first of the Comneni.

1058. *Battle of Varaville*: William of Normandy defeated the French royal forces.

1058. Boleslaus II King of Poland.

1059. Constantine (X) Ducas Eastern Emperor.

1059. Method of Papal election settled.

1059. Robert Guiscard obtained title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria from Pope Nicholas II, subject to Holy See.

1060. Norman invasion of Sicily began under Count Roger: Messina taken.

A.D.

1060. Philip I King of France.

1060. Steinkel succeeded Emund as King of Sweden.

1063. William of Normandy conquered Maine.

1064. Seljuks conquered Armenia.

1064. County of Portugal won from the Moors.

1065. Alfonso VI succeeded Ferdinand I as King of Castile and Leon.

1066. *Battle of Stamford Bridge*: Harold King of England defeated Norwegian invasion: Harold Hardrada killed.

1066. Haakon the Red King of Sweden: Olaf Kyrre King of Norway.

1066. *Battle of Hastings* (*Senlac*): William the Conqueror defeated and slew Harold King of England: NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BEGUN.

1067. Michael VII and Romanus IV Eastern Emperors.

1070. Malcolm III of Scotland married Margaret of the English royal family.

1070. Duchy of Bavaria given to Count Welf.

1071. *Battle of Manzikert*: Seljuks under Alp Arslan defeated forces of Romanus IV, who was captured: Asia Minor lost to Eastern Empire.

1071. Normans captured Bari, last Greek possession in Italy.

1071. Normans took Palermo.

1071. Norman conquest of England complete.

1072. Malcolm III of Scotland did homage to William the Conqueror.

1073. Hildebrand became Pope as Gregory VII.

1073. Saxon revolt against the Empire.

1074. Peace of Gerstungen between Henry IV and the Saxons.

1075. Seljuks captured Jerusalem.

1075. Henry IV reduced the Saxons.

1075. Gregory VII issued his decrees on clerical celibacy and investiture of prelates.

1076. Emperor Henry IV summoned a Synod of German Bishops at Worms, which declared Gregory VII deposed; Gregory VII declared Henry IV deposed and excommunicated.

1076. Sancho Ramirez of Aragon became King of Navarre also.

1077. Humiliation of Emperor Henry IV by Gregory VII at Canossa in Tuscany; Rudolph of Suabia elected German King; civil war resulted.

1077. Ladislas I (St. Ladislas) King of Hungary.

A.D.

1078. Nicephorus III Eastern Emperor, after displacing Michael VII.

1080. Rudolph of Suabia defeated and slain.

1080. Seljuks captured Nicæa.

1081. Alexius I (Comnenus) Eastern Emperor; beginning of continuous dynasty of Comneni.

1081. *Battle of Durazzo*: Normans under Robert Guiscard defeated Emperor Alexius I.

1083. Henry IV entered Rome.

1083. *Battle of Larissa*: Emperor Alexius I defeated Normans.

1084. Alfonso VI recovered Toledo from the Moors.

1084. Carthusians founded at Chartreuse, near Grenoble, by St. Bruno.

1084. Henry IV crowned Emperor in Rome by anti-pope Clement III; Gregory VII saved by Robert Guiscard; Rome sacked.

1085. Emperor Alexius I recovered Durazzo from Normans.

1085. Death of Gregory VII. Death of Robert Guiscard.

1086. Domesday Book completed.

1086. *Battle of Zalaca*: Alfonso VI defeated by Almoravides under Yusuf.

1087. William II (Rufus) King of England.

1088. Bohemia under Vratislav made a kingdom by the Emperor.

1090. Count Roger of Sicily took Malta from the Moors.

1091. Norman conquest of Sicily completed.

1091. Emperor Alexius I crushingly defeated the Petchenegs.

1092. William Rufus annexed Southern Cumbria to England.

1092. Seljuk Empire broke up into parts on death of Malik Shah.

1093. Donald Bane King of Scotland.

1093. Anselm became Archbishop of Canterbury.

1093. Magnus Barefoot King of Norway.

1094. Duncan King of Scotland, after overthrowing Donald Bane; overthrown and slain by Donald Bane and Edmund, who shared the kingdom between them.

1094. Rodrigo Diaz, called The Cid, took Valencia from the Moors.

1095. Pope Urban II advocated a crusade to recover the holy places at Council of Clermont.

1095. Coloman, great reforming King of Hungary.

A.D.

1095. Count Henry of Burgundy married Theresa of Leon, receiving County of Portugal as dowry; beginning of Portuguese state.

1096. FIRST CRUSADE set out: leaders were Godfrey of Bouillon, his brother Baldwin, Raymond of Toulouse, Bohemond of Otranto, and Tancred; preceded by popular forces under Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless.

1097. Edgar King of Scotland.

1097. Frankish County of Edessa founded in Syria.

1097. Anselm, quarrelling with William Rufus, left the kingdom.

1097. Crusaders captured Nicæa and won *Battle of Dorylæum.*

1098. Crusaders took Antioch: Principality of Antioch formed under Bohemond.

1098. Cistercians founded by St. Robert at Citeaux, near Dijon.

1098. Magnus Barefoot invaded Orkneys and Sudreys.

1099. Crusaders took Jerusalem; Godfrey of Bouillon became Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre.

1099. Crusaders won *Battle of Ascalon.*

1100. Henry I King of England.

1100. Baldwin I succeeded his brother Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler of Jerusalem and took title of King.

1102. Magnus Barefoot devastated Sudreys and conquered Isle of Man: the Scottish king Edgar recognized his claim to the Western Islands.

1102. Boleslaus III King of Poland.

1103. Death of Magnus Barefoot.

1104. Revolt of Henry, son of Henry IV (afterwards Henry V).

1104. Alfonso I (the Battler) King of Aragon.

1104. Crusaders captured Acre.

1106. Henry V German King.

1106. *Battle of Tinchebrai*: Henry I of England defeated Robert, Duke of Normandy, and gained the Duchy.

1106. Lothair of Supplinburg appointed Duke of Saxony.

A.D.

1107. Alexander I King of Scotland.

1107. *Battle of Durazzo*: Emperor Alexius defeated the Normans under Bohemond.

1107. Council of Troyes.

1108. Louis VI (the Fat) King of France.

1109. Crusaders captured Tripoli (in Syria).

1110. *Miracle of St. Catherine*, one of the earliest miracle plays.

1110. Crusaders captured Beirut.

1111. Henry V crowned Emperor at Rome.

1112. Theresa ruled alone over Portugal on death of Count Henry.

1114. Saxon rebellion against Empire.

1115. Peter Abelard began teaching at Paris.

1115. St. Bernard became Abbot of Clairvaux.

1115. Death of Countess Matilda of Tuscany: her estates left to the Papacy.

1116. Henry V in Italy.

1118. John II Eastern Emperor.

1118. Alfonso I of Aragon captured Saragossa.

1119. Order of Templars founded.

1119. *Battle of Brenneville (Brémule)*: Louis VI defeated by English.

1120. Knights of St. John (or Hospitallers) acquired a military character.

1120. *Battle of Cutanda*: Almoravides defeated by Alfonso I of Aragon.

1122. CONCORDAT OF WORMS settled the controversy between Empire and Papacy about Investiture of Bishops.

1123. Emperor John II defeated the Servians and exterminated the Petchenegs.

1123. First Lateran Council of the Church.

1124. David I King of Scotland.

1124. Emperor John II defeated the Hungarians.

1124. Boleslaus III of Poland converted the Pomeranians.

1124. Christians, with help of Venice, captured Tyre.

1125. Death of Emperor Henry V: end of Franconian line of Emperors.

THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS: A.D. 1125–1268

1125. Lothair of Supplinburg elected German King as Lothair II.

1126. Emperor John II successful against Seljuks.

1126. Henry the Proud became Duke of Bavaria.

1126. Pierre de Bruys burned for heresy.

1127. Death of Guilhem, Count of Poitiers, first of the Troubadour poets.

1127. Conrad of Hohenstaufen proclaimed German king in rivalry with Lothair II: fled to Italy.

A.D.

1127. Roger II, Count of Sicily, became also Duke of Apulia.

1128. Conrad crowned King of Italy.

1128. Theresa deposed in Portugal: Alfonso I became Count.

1130. Roger II assumed style of King of Sicily as Roger I.

1133. Lothair II crowned Emperor at Rome.

1133. Beginning of alliance between Kingdom of Jerusalem and Emir of Damascus.

1134. Conrad yielded to Lothair II.

1134. *Battle of Braga*: death of Alfonso I of Aragon and Navarre; Navarre and Aragon again separated.

1134. Sverker King of Sweden; amalgamated Swedes and Goths.

1135. Stephen King of England.

1135. Alfonso VII King of Castile and Leon.

1137. Emperor John II defeated Armenians.

1137. Louis VII King of France.

1137. Queen of Aragon married Raymond, Count of Barcelona; Aragon greatly extended.

1137. Henry the Proud of Bavaria obtained Duchy of Saxony also.

1138. *Battle of the Standard*: defeat of the Scots.

1138. Conrad III elected German King, never actually crowned Emperor: FIRST OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN LINE.

1138. Normans captured Naples.

1139. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Britons* in existence: the basis of the Arthurian romances.

1139. Pope Innocent II compelled to recognize Norman kingdom of Sicily and South Italy.

1139. Second Lateran Council of the Church.

1139. Henry the Lion became Duke of Saxony.

1139. Death of Boleslaus III began Partitional Period of Polish history.

1139. *Battle of Ourique*: Alfonso I of Portugal defeated the Moors and took title of King.

1140. Beginning of Guelf (Welf) *versus* Ghibelline (Waiblingen) contest in Germany about this time; later mostly in Italy.

1140. Vienna became capital of Austria.

1142. Treaty of Frankfort between Conrad and his opponents: Henry the Lion confirmed in Duchy of Saxony, and Bavaria given to Henry Jasomirgott, Margrave of Austria.

A.D.

1143. Death of William of Malmesbury, English historian.

1143. Manuel I became Eastern Emperor.

1143. Alfonso I of Portugal recognized by Peace of Zamora as independent of Spain.

1143. Democratic revolution at Rome against nobles and the Pope's temporal power.

1144. Mohammedans recaptured Edessa (end of the Christian Principality).

1145. Arnold of Brescia at Rome to direct the revolution.

1146. SECOND CRUSADE inspired by St. Bernard.

1147. Emperor Conrad III and Louis VII of France set out on Second Crusade. France governed by Abbé Suger.

1147. Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, conquered lands beyond the Elbe.

1147. Alfonso I of Portugal captured Lisbon.

1147. King Roger of Sicily invaded Greece.

1147. Arnold of Brescia supreme in Rome.

1148. Failure of Second Crusade against Damascus.

1149. Normans expelled from island of Corfu.

1150. Carmelites (White Friars) founded about this time at Mount Carmel by Berthold.

1150. Approximate date of the TRANSITION FROM ROMANESQUE (NORMAN, &C.) TO GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

1150. University of Salerno founded, based upon a much older medical school.

1150. Approximate date of *Nibelungenlied*.

1150. Albert the Bear became Margrave of Brandenburg, the precursor of Prussia.

1150. Eric IX King of Sweden.

1151. Henry of Anjou became Duke of Normandy.

1151. Henry the Lion became Duke of Bavaria.

1152. Frederick I (Barbarossa) German King.

1152. Louis VII divorced Eleanor of Aquitaine; she married Henry of Anjou and brought Aquitaine to him.

1153. Malcolm IV King of Scotland.

1153. Treaty of Wallingford: succession of Henry of Anjou to English throne assured.

1154. Death of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

1154. Henry of Anjou became King of England as Henry II.

1154. Frederick Barbarossa invaded Italy.

1154. Nureddin, Turkish ruler of Mosul, captured Damascus.

A.D.

1154. William I (the Bad) King of Sicily and Naples.

1155. Wace's *Brut* completed.

1155. Arnold of Brescia hanged and burned at the instance of Pope Adrian IV, to whom he had been handed over by the Emperor.

1155. Frederick Barbarossa crowned Emperor in Rome by the Pope.

1156. Bavaria confirmed to Henry the Lion; Austria created a Duchy.

1156. Franche-Comté (County of Burgundy) gained for the Empire by marriage.

1157. Castile and Léon separated at death of Alfonso VII.

1157. Waldemar I King of Denmark.

1158. Bohemia finally made a Kingdom under Vladislav II.

1158. Alfonso VIII King of Castile.

1158. Second Invasion of Italy by Frederick Barbarossa.

1159. Peter Lombard, famous theologian, Bishop of Paris.

1159. Milan besieged by Frederick Barbarossa.

1160. Chrétien de Troyes, French poet, flourished: a pioneer in Arthurian romance.

1160. Frederick Barbarossa excommunicated by Pope Alexander III.

1162. Frederick Barbarossa destroyed Milan.

1162. Alfonso II King of Aragon.

1163. Frederick Barbarossa invaded Italy for third time.

1164. Somerled of the Isles invaded southern Scotland: died at Renfrew.

1164. Constitutions of Clarendon.

1165. William I (the Lyon) King of Scotland.

1166. Assize of Clarendon.

1166. Fourth Invasion of Italy by Frederick Barbarossa.

1166. William II (the Good) King of Sicily and Naples.

1167. Oxford University in existence by this date.

1167. Lombard League formed against Frederick Barbarossa.

1167. Frederick Barbarossa entered Rome; forced to withdraw by pestilence.

1169. Wendish pirates overthrown in Rügen.

1170. Murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.

1170. Waldensians founded in southern France by Peter Waldo.

A.D.

1170. Invasion of Ireland by Strongbow.

1171. Saladin became ruler of Egypt, superseding Fatimite dynasty and founding the Ayyubite.

1171. Henry II landed in Ireland and received submission of many chiefs.

1173. Frederick Barbarossa invaded Italy for fifth time.

1173. Bela III made King of Hungary by the Emperor Manuel.

1174. William the Lyon, King of Scotland, captured by England; released under Treaty of Falaise on doing homage for his kingdom.

1174. Saladin took Damascus: Mohammedan power in Asia again consolidated.

1176. Assize of Northampton.

1176. *Battle of Legnano*: Lombard League completely defeated Frederick Barbarossa.

1177. Treaty of Venice: a truce between Frederick Barbarossa, the Pope, and the Lombard League.

1179. Third Lateran Council of the Church.

1180. Marie de France, French poetess, flourished.

1180. Death of John of Salisbury, a great scholar and cleric; a supporter of Becket.

1180. War between Emperor Frederick and Henry the Lion; Duchy of Bavaria given to Otto of Wittelsbach.

1180. Alexius II Eastern Emperor.

1180. Philip II (Augustus) King of France.

1181. Assize of Arms.

1182. Banishment of Jews decreed in France.

1182. Canute VI King of Denmark.

1182. Massacre of Latins in Constantinople.

1183. Peace of Constance: definite agreement between Emperor, Pope, and Lombard League.

1183. Emperor Alexius murdered: Andronicus I became Eastern Emperor.

1183. Saladin took Aleppo.

1185. Emperor Andronicus I overthrown: Isaac II (Angelus) Eastern Emperor.

1185. Sancho I followed Alfonso I as King of Portugal.

1185. William II of Sicily took Salonica, but failed to keep it.

1186. Guy of Lusignan King of Jerusalem.

1186. Saladin completed consolidation of Mohammedan power.

1186. Bulgarians recovered independence of the Empire.

A.D.

1187. *Battles of Tiberias and Hattin*: Saladin victorious over Christians. Jerusalem taken by Saladin.

1189. Henry II of England invaded France.

1189. Richard I King of England: independence of Scotland bought back.

1189. Tancred King of Sicily and Naples.

1189. THIRD CRUSADE began: joined by Emperor Frederick, Philip Augustus, and Richard I. Siege of Acre begun.

1190. Henry VI German King.

1190. Order of Teutonic Knights founded.

1190. Trouvères flourished about this time at the court of Marie of Champagne.

1191. Henry VI crowned Emperor at Rome.

1191. Henry VI invaded South Italy: failed against Naples.

1191. Richard I took Cyprus and sold it to the Templars; resold to Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem.

1191. Crusaders took Acre: King Philip returned to France.

1192. Agreement between Richard I and Saladin. Richard captured by Duke Leopold of Austria on his way home and handed over to the Emperor: heavy ransom.

1193. Death of Saladin.

1193. Philip Augustus attacked Normandy.

1194. Richard I released.

1194. Henry VI conquered kingdom of Sicily and Naples (claimed in right of his wife) and annexed it to Empire.

1195. Emperor Isaac II deposed: Alexius III Eastern Emperor.

1195. Cyprus became a kingdom under Guy of Lusignan's brother Amaury.

1195. Death of the Troubadour Marcabrun.

1196. Christians lost Jaffa.

1196. Peter II became King of Aragon.

1197. Ottacar became King of Bohemia; royal title thenceforth uninterrupted.

1198. Death of Averroes, Arabian scholar.

1198. Philip of Suabia and Otto IV of Brunswick rival emperors.

1198. Innocent III became Pope.

1198. Frederick, son of Henry VI, crowned King of Sicily.

1199. John King of England.

1200. MARINER'S COMPASS known in Europe soon after this date.

1200. Approximate date of the *Brut* of Layamon; also of the *Ormulum* and the *Ancren Riwle*.

A.D.

1200. Saxo Grammaticus, Danish historian, flourished.

1200. Walter Map flourished: perhaps contributed to the Arthurian cycle.

1201. Philip of Suabia under Papal ban.

1201. FOURTH CRUSADE started from Venice.

1201. Knights of the Sword founded to convert the Letts.

1201. Death of Archbishop Absalon, a great Danish statesman.

1201. Denmark conquered Holstein and Hamburg.

1202. Crusaders took Zara on behalf of Venice, at instance of the Doge Henry Dandolo.

1202. Waldemar II succeeded Canute VI as King of Denmark: captured Lübeck, Schwerin, &c.

1203. Wolfram von Eschenbach, German poet, flourished.

1203. Emperor Isaac II restored by Crusaders along with Alexius IV.

1204. France conquered Anjou, Maine, Normandy, &c., from England.

1204. Alexius V made Eastern Emperor, then replaced by Baldwin I of Flanders, first Latin Emperor: BEGINNING OF LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

1204. Crete, &c., given to Venice.

1205. Emperor Baldwin defeated and captured by Bulgarians at Adrianople and put to death.

1205. Death of Bertran de Born, a noted Troubadour.

1205. Andrew II King of Hungary.

1206. Walther von der Vogelweide, German poet, flourished: the greatest of the Minnesingers.

1208. Innocent III placed England under interdict.

1208. Philip of Suabia murdered: Otto IV sole Western Emperor.

1208. Albigensian crusade began: first crusade against heresy.

1209. Otto IV in Italy: crowned Emperor at Rome.

1209. King John excommunicated.

1210. Godfrey of Strassburg, German poet, flourished.

1210. University of Paris founded about this time.

1210. Franciscan Order (Grey Friars) founded by St. Francis of Assisi.

1210. Otto IV excommunicated by Pope, but successful against Sicily.

A.D.

1210. Genghis Khan, Mongol leader, invaded China.

1 11. Alfonso II became King of Portugal.

1212. *Battle of Navas de Tolosa*: Almohades defeated heavily by a combination of all the Christian Kings of Spain and Portugal under Castile.

1212. Children's Crusade.

1212. Frederick II crowned German King.

1213. Villehardouin, French historian of the Fourth Crusade, died about this time.

1213. King John surrendered to Innocent III and did homage for his kingdom.

1213. *Battle of Muret*: Defeat of the Albigenses; Peter II of Aragon killed.

1213. James the Conqueror became King of Aragon.

1214. Alexander II King of Scotland.

1214. *Battle of Bouvines*: Philip of France defeated John of England, Otto IV, &c.; a momentous battle in history of France, England, and the Empire.

1214. Death of Alfonso VIII of Castile.

1215. Dominican Order (Black Friars) founded at Toulouse by St. Dominic.

1215. MAGNA CARTA signed by King John.

1215. Fourth Lateran Council of the Church abolished trial by ordeal.

1216. Louis, heir of French king, called in by English barons against John. Death of John: Henry III King of England.

1217. *Fair of Lincoln*: Prince Louis of France defeated.

1217. Ferdinand III (the Saint) King of Castile.

1217. Crusade led by Andrew of Hungary.

1217. Haakon IV King of Norway.

1218. Death of Otto IV; Frederick II Western Emperor.

1218. Waldemar II of Denmark captured Reval.

1218. Ivan Asen II Bulgarian King: conquered Albania, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace; capital, Tirnovo.

1219. Damietta taken by John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem.

1219. Genghis Khan's invasion.

1220. Frederick II crowned Emperor at Rome.

1220. Hartmann von der Aue, German poet, died.

1220. Approximate date of the *Owl and Nightingale* and of the *Queste del St. Graal.*

1221. Dominicans settled at Oxford.

1221. Crusaders abandoned Damietta.

A.D.

1222. Golden Bull, the Great Charter of Hungary.

1223. Death of Giraldus Cambrensis, Welsh writer.

1223. Louis VIII King of France.

1223. Sancho II King of Portugal.

1224. Franciscans settled at Oxford and Cambridge.

1224. Mongols advanced into Russia; Russians defeated in *Battle of Kalka.*

1225. English took Gascony.

1225. Frederick II assumed the title of King of Jerusalem in right of his wife.

1226. Lombard League renewed against Frederick II.

1226. Louis IX (St. Louis) King of France.

1226. Waldemar II of Denmark compelled to surrender most of the Danish conquests.

1227. *Battle of Bornhöved*: Frederick II defeated Denmark.

1227. Death of Genghis Khan.

1227. First appearance of the Ottoman Turks in history: settled in Angora under Ertoghrul.

1227. Frederick II set out on a crusade, but did not go far; excommunicated.

1228. Frederick II set out on FIFTH CRUSADE.

1228. French King gave the County of Venaissin, near Avignon, to the Papacy.

1229. Frederick II procured cession of Jerusalem, &c., to the Christians; crowned King of Jerusalem.

1229. James of Aragon conquered the Balearic Islands.

1229. Papal victory over Frederick II's troops in Italy.

1229. Treaty of Meaux: submission of the Count of Toulouse and the Albigensians.

1230. Franciscans in Paris.

1230. Teutonic Knights began to settle in Prussia.

1230. Wenceslas I King of Bohemia.

1230. Final Union of Castile and Leon.

1231. Cambridge University organized.

1231. Privilege of Worms: German princes recognized by Emperor as virtually independent.

1232. Pope Gregory IX established the monastic inquisition.

1235. War against Lombard League.

1235. Bela IV King of Hungary.

A.D.

1236. Cordova conquered by the Christians.

1237. William of Lorris composed *The Romaunt of the Rose* about this date.

1237. *Battle of Cortenuova*: Lombard League defeated by Frederick II.

1237. Ryazan sacked by Mongols under Batu Khan.

1238. James of Aragon conquered Valencia.

1238. The Mongols settled in Russia (The Golden Horde), with capital at Sarai; Kiev taken.

1239. Frederick II excommunicated.

1240. Mendovg ruler of Lithuania (was baptized).

1240. Death of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth.

1241. Death of Snorri Sturluson, of the Icelandic Sagas and the Edda.

1241. Invasion of Hungary and Poland by Batu Khan; Silesian princes defeated in *Battle of Liegnitz*; Pesth captured.

1242. Mongols defeated at Olmütz and Neustadt.

1242. *Battles of Taillebourg and Saintes*: Louis IX defeated Henry III of England.

1244. End of Albigensian Persecution.

1244. Christians finally lost Jerusalem.

1245. Death of Alexander of Hales, philosopher and theologian.

1245. First Church Council of Lyons.

1245. Frederick II excommunicated and declared deposed by Innocent IV.

1246. Provence joined to France.

1246. Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, elected German King at the instigation of the Pope.

1247. Frederick II besieged Parma (defeated 1248).

1247. Death of Henry Raspe; William II, Count of Holland, elected German King by Papal party.

1248. Rhodes taken by Genoa.

1248. Earl Birger virtual ruler of Sweden; Stockholm founded.

1248. St. Louis started on SIXTH CRUSADE.

1248. Christians conquered Seville.

1248. Alfonso III succeeded Sancho II of Portugal.

1249. Alexander III King of Scotland.

1249. St. Louis took Damietta; then defeated and captured at Mansourah; released on giving up Damietta.

1250. *The Harrowing of Hell*: oldest known dramatic work in English.

A.D.

1250. Conrad IV German King.

1250. Sorbonne founded in Paris.

1250. Beginning of Mameluke rule in Egypt.

1250. Manfred, natural son of Frederick II, regent of Naples and Sicily.

1251. Emperor Conrad IV in Italy.

1251. Conrad and Manfred took Capua and Naples.

1251. Alfonso X King of Castile.

1252. Innocent IV approved torture for the discovery of heresy.

1253. Death of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.

1253. Struggle between Venice and Genoa began.

1253. Ottacar II King of Bohemia.

1254. Death of Conrad IV; son Conradin proclaimed King of Sicily.

1254. St. Louis returned to France.

1255. League of Rhenish towns formed, supported by William of Holland.

1255. Bavaria divided into Upper and Lower.

1256. St. Bonaventura became general of the Franciscans.

1256. Death of William of Holland: double election to Empire of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso X of Castile: the period 1256–1273 known as the Interregnum in the history of the Empire.

1256. First form of Hanseatic League.

1258. Provisions of Oxford forced by barons on Henry III.

1258. Manfred crowned King of Sicily.

1258. Mongols captured Baghdad and destroyed the Abbasside Caliphate.

1259. Death of Matthew Paris, English monk and historian.

1259. Treaty of Paris: Peace between Louis IX and Henry III.

1259. Death of Ezzelino da Romano, a cruel tyrant who had supported Frederick II in Italy.

1259. Second Tatar raid on Poland.

1260. *Battle of Montaperti*: Florentine Guelfs defeated by Ghibellines of Siena; Ghibellines supreme in Florence.

1260. Mongols took Damascus.

1260. *Battle of Kressenbrunn*: Ottacar II of Bohemia defeated Bela, King of Hungary, and obtained Carinthia, Istria, &c.

1261. A Tatar invasion of Hungary repelled by Bela IV.

1261. Latin Empire of Constantinople over-

A.D.

thrown: Michael VIII (Palæologus) became Eastern Emperor: beginning of Palæologian dynasty.

1261. Charles of Anjou, invited by Pope, accepted the crown of Sicily.

1262. First Visconti lord of Milan.

1263. Norwegian disaster at *Largs*: Death of Haakon IV; succeeded by Magnus VI.

1263. Portugal reached present limits and attained complete independence.

1264. Mise of Amiens: Louis IX arbitrated between Henry III and the English barons, deciding in favour of former.

1264. *Battle of Lewes*: Henry III defeated by Simon de Montfort.

1264. *Battle of Trapani*: Venetian victory over Genoese fleet.

A.D.

1265. FIRST ENGLISH PARLIAMENT called by Simon de Montfort.

1265. *Battle of Evesham*: Simon de Montfort defeated and slain by the Royal army under Prince Edward.

1265. Christians conquered Murcia; only Granada left to Moors in Spain.

1266. Hebrides ceded by Norway to Scotland.

1266. *Battle of Benevento*: defeat and death of Manfred; Charles of Anjou became master of Sicily and Naples.

1266. Ghibellines expelled from Florence.

1268. Christians lost Antioch.

1268. *Battle of Tagliacozzo*: Conradin defeated by Charles of Anjou and afterwards put to death; end of Hohenstaufen line.

THE AGE OF DANTE: A.D. 1268–1337

1270. St. Louis on EIGHTH CRUSADE: died at Tunis; Philip III (the Bold) King of France.

1270. Stephen V King of Hungary.

1271. Prince Edward of England went to Acre (returned in 1272).

1271. Marco Polo, Venetian traveller, set out on his journey to China.

1272. Edward I King of England. Death of Richard of Cornwall.

1272. Ladislas IV King of Hungary.

1273. Rudolph of Hapsburg elected German King.

1274. Death of St. Thomas Aquinas, great scholastic theologian.

1274. Dominicans settled at Cambridge.

1274. Second Church Council of Lyons effected a temporary union of the Eastern and Western Churches.

1275. First Statute of Westminster.

1275. Magnus Ladulas King of Sweden.

1276. Peter III King of Aragon.

1277. Edward I invaded Wales.

1278. Jean de Meun continued *The Romaunt of the Rose* about this date.

1278. Death of Niccola Pisano, early Italian sculptor.

1278. *Battle of Marchfield* (*Dürnkrut*): Ottacar II of Bohemia killed; Czech Empire dismembered; Wenceslas II King of Bohemia.

1279. Statute of Mortmain.

1279. Diniz became King of Portugal.

1280. Death of Albertus Magnus, great scholastic philosopher.

1280. Trouvère poetry came to an end.

1280. Eric II became King of Norway.

1282. England conquered Wales.

1282. Andronicus II Eastern Emperor.

1282. Sicilian Vespers: massacre of French in Sicily; Sicily separated from Kingdom of Naples and obtained by King of Aragon.

1282. Hapsburgs established in the Duchy of Austria.

1283. Prussia subjugated by Teutonic Knights.

1284. *Battle of Meloria*: Genoa crushed Pisa.

1284. Sancho IV King of Castile.

1284. Queen of Navarre married the eldest son of Philip III of France: Navarre thenceforward joined to France till 1328.

1285. Statute of Winchester and Second Statute of Westminster.

1285. Philip IV (the Fair) King of France.

1285. Charles II King of Naples; Alfonso III King of Aragon.

1286. Margaret, Maid of Norway, Queen of Scotland.

1288. Pope declared a crusade against Ladislas IV of Hungary.

1288. Osman I succeeded Ertoghrul as leader of Ottoman Turks.

1289. Christians lost Tripoli (Syria).

1290. Treaty of Brigham between Scotland and Edward I. Death of the Maid of Norway.

A.D.

1290. Statute of Quia Emptores.

1290. Expulsion of Jews from England.

1290. Ladislas IV of Hungary murdered.

1291. Fall of Acre: end of Christian power in Syria and Palestine.

1291. Death of Emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg.

1291. Everlasting League of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden: BEGINNING OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC.

1291. James II King of Aragon.

1292. John Baliol made King of Scotland by Edward I.

1292. Adolf of Nassau elected German King.

1294. Death of Roger Bacon, philosopher and pioneer of science.

1294. Boniface VIII became Pope.

1294. Death of Guiraut Riquier, last of the Troubadours.

1294. Guienne seized by France.

1294. Venetian fleet defeated by Genoa.

1294. The King of Aragon abandoned Sicily, but Sicily under Frederick III refused to be joined to Naples.

1294. Death of Kublai Khan, founder of Mongol dynasty in China.

1295. MODEL ENGLISH PARLIAMENT summoned by Edward I.

1295. Beginning of FRANCO-SCOTTISH ALLIANCE.

1296. Bull of *Clericis Laicos* issued by Boniface VIII: extravagant Papal claims.

1296. John Baliol renounced the Kingdom of Scotland.

1296. Ferdinand IV King of Castile.

1297. *Battle of Stirling*: victory of Sir William Wallace over English.

1298. *Battle of Falkirk*: Edward I defeated Wallace.

1298. Adolf of Nassau defeated and killed at Gelheim by Albert I, Duke of Austria, who had been elected German King.

1299. *Battle of Curzola*: Venice defeated by Genoa.

1299. Treaty between Venice and the Turks.

1299. Haakon V King of Norway.

1300. *Cursor Mundi*, a sort of epic poem in English.

1300. Wenceslas II of Bohemia became also King of Poland, later also of Hungary.

1300. Boniface VIII proclaimed a Jubilee.

1301. Albert of Austria ravaged the Palatinate and Mainz.

1301. Charles of Valois overthrew the Bianchi (White) Guelfs in Florence and drove Dante into exile.

1302. Papal Bull *Unam Sanctam*: very extravagant Papal claims.

1302. End of the War of the Sicilian Vespers; Frederick III recognized as King of Sicily by the Peace of Caltabellotta.

1302. French States-General met for first time.

1302. *Battle of Courtrai*: Flemish victory over France.

1302. Cimabue, Italian painter, teacher of Giotto, died about this time.

1303. Robert Mannyng's *Handlynge Synne*, an early English poem.

1303. Death of Boniface VIII.

1303. Edward I again conquered Scotland.

1305. Betrayal and Execution of Sir William Wallace.

1305. Wenceslas III King of Bohemia.

1306. Robert the Bruce crowned King of Scotland.

1306. Jews expelled from France.

1306. Wenceslas III of Bohemia murdered: end of dynasty.

1306. Vladislas I became Duke of Great Poland: reunited Great and Little Poland.

1307. Traditional date of the Rütli oath in Swiss history.

1307. Edward II King of England.

1308. Death of Duns Scotus, scholastic philosopher and theologian.

1308. Murder of Albert of Austria; Henry VII (of Luxemburg) elected German King. Henry VII conquered Bohemia (1308–10).

1309. Robert King of Naples.

1309. Clement V began residence in Avignon: beginning of BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY of Popes (till 1377).

1310. Henry VII went to Italy.

1310. Arpad dynasty in Hungary succeeded by dynasty of Anjou in person of Charles I.

1310. Knights of St. John or Hospitallers seized Rhodes.

1310. John of Luxemburg, son of Henry VII, elected King of Bohemia.

1311. Church Council of Vienne.

1312. Henry VII crowned Emperor at Rome.

1312. Abolition of Templars finally decreed by Pope Clement V, under pressure from Philip IV of France.

1312. France obtained the Lyonnais.

1313. Death of Henry VII.

A.D.

1313. Alfonso XI became King of Castile.

1314. Louis X King of France.

1314. *Battle of Bannockburn*: Scottish Independence vindicated by Robert the Bruce.

1314. Louis IV of Bavaria and Frederick Duke of Austria rival claimants of the Empire.

1315. *Battle of Morgarten*: great Swiss victory over Leopold, Duke of Austria.

1315. Gedymin ruler of Lithuania: annexed Kiev, Chernigov, &c.

1316. Edward Bruce King of Ireland.

1316. Philip V (the Tall) King of France.

1317. Death of Joinville, friend and biographer of St. Louis.

1318. *Battle of Dundalk*: Edward Bruce defeated and slain.

1318. Truce between Swiss and Hapsburgs.

1319. First Union of Sweden and Norway: Magnus VII common King.

1320. End of War between France and Flanders.

1320. Vladislas I revived royal dynasty in Poland.

1321. Death of Dante.

1322. *Battle of Mühldorf*: Frederick of Austria defeated and taken prisoner by Louis of Bavaria.

1322. *Battle of Boroughbridge*; Edward II defeated his kinsman Thomas of Lancaster.

1322. Charles IV (the Fair) King of France.

1323. James I of Aragon conquered Sardinia from the Pisans.

1323. Emperor Louis IV, deposed and excommunicated by John XXII, appealed to a Council.

1325. Frederick of Austria gave up claim to Empire.

1325. Alfonso IV King of Portugal.

1326. FIRST SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT (at Cambuskenneth).

1326. GUNPOWDER known by this date.

1326. Scots College founded in Paris.

1326. Brussa taken by the Ottoman Turks and became their capital.

1326. Orkhan succeeded Osman as leader of the Ottoman Turks.

A.D.

1327. Edward II deposed; Edward III King of England.

1327. Death of Eckhart, great German mystic.

1327. Orkhan took Nicomedia.

1327. Alfonso IV King of Aragon.

1328. Treaty of Northampton: England recognized the complete independence of Scotland.

1328. Andronicus III Eastern Emperor.

1328. Philip VI King of France: beginning of Valois dynasty: Navarre separated.

1328. *Battle of Cassel*: Flemish insurgents under Jacob van Artevelde defeated by Philip VI.

1328. Louis IV crowned Emperor at Rome and deposed Pope John XXII.

1329. David II King of Scotland.

1329. *Battle of Pelekanon*: Andronicus III defeated by Ottoman Turks.

1330. Ottoman Turks took Nicæa: Janissaries organized.

1330. *Battle of Kustendil*: Bulgaria conquered by Servia.

1330. Walachia began to gain her independence of Hungary.

1331. King John of Bohemia in Italy.

1332. *Battle of Dupplin Moor*: Scottish regent, Earl of Mar, slain. Edward Baliol crowned King of Scotland.

1332. Lucerne joined the Swiss League.

1332. *Battle of Plowce*: Vladislas I defeated the Teutonic Knights.

1333. Edward Baliol again invaded Scotland.

1333. *Battle of Halidon Hill*: Scots defeated by Edward III.

1333. Casimir III (the Great) King of Poland: acquired Galicia.

1335. Edward III invaded Scotland.

1335. Internal free trade established in England.

1335. Zürich joined the Swiss League.

1336. Peter IV King of Aragon.

1337. Death of Giotto, Italian painter.

1337. Peter II King of Sicily.

1337. Jacob van Artevelde formed a league of Flemish cities with Ghent as leader; they joined England in the war against France.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR: A.D. 1338–1453

A.D.

1338. HUNDRED YEARS' WAR between France and England began.

1339. Edward Baliol driven from Scotland.

1339. *Battle of Laupen*: Nobles overthrown in Berne.

1340. *Battle of Sluys*: English naval victory over France.

1340. Edward III claimed throne of France.

1340. Emperor Louis IV reunited Bavaria under him.

1340. *Battle of Rio Salado*: Spanish and Portuguese repelled an African invasion.

1340. Waldemar IV King of Denmark.

1341. John V (Palæologus) Eastern Emperor.

1342. Louis the Great King of Hungary.

1342. Duke of Athens appointed head of Florentine state: expelled next year.

1343. Joanna I, wife of Andrew of Hungary, became Queen of Naples.

1343. Charles II (the Bad) King of Navarre.

1343. Haakon VI King of Norway.

1344. Suabian League of cities formed.

1345. Order of the Garter founded about this date.

1345. Approximate date of *Pearl, Sir Gawayne*, &c., notable early English poems.

1345. Andrew of Hungary assassinated.

1345. Jacob van Artevelde assassinated.

1345. Emperor Louis took possession of Holland, &c.

1346. *Battle of Neville's Cross*: Scots defeated and David II captured.

1346. *Battle of Crécy*: English victory over French: King John of Bohemia killed.

1346. *Battle of Zara*: Venetians defeated Hungarians.

1346. Charles King of Bohemia.

1347. English took Calais.

1347. John VI (Cantacuzenus) became Co-Emperor in the East.

1347. Cola di Rienzi became Tribune in Rome.

1347. Corsica transferred from Pisa to Genoa.

1348. Charles IV (of Bohemia) German King.

1348. GREAT PLAGUE in Italy.

1348. *Battle of Epila*: Peter IV of Aragon established his power over the nobles.

1349. Death of William of Occam, nominalist philosopher and supporter of Louis IV against the Pope.

1349. BLACK DEATH in England.

A.D.

1349. Bavaria again divided.

1349. Persecution of Jews in Germany.

1349. Fall of Rienzi.

1350. The *Decameron* of Boccaccio.

1350. The Black Death in Scotland.

1350. Dafydd ap Gwilym, greatest of Welsh poets, flourished.

1350. John King of France.

1350. Peter the Cruel King of Castile.

1351. Statute of Labourers attempted to regulate wages.

1351. Statute of Provisors.

1351. Zürich joined the Swiss League.

1352. Death of Laurence Minot, English poet.

1352. Glarus and Zug joined the Swiss League.

1353. Statute of Præmunire.

1353. Berne joined the Swiss League.

1353. *Battle of the Bosphorus*: Venice defeated by Genoa.

1354. New League of the Rhine.

1354. Rienzi killed in a riot.

1355. Charles IV crowned Emperor in Rome.

1355. Death of Stephen Dushan, King of the Servians: break-up of Servian Empire.

1355. Conspiracy of Marino Faliero in Venice foiled.

1356. *Battle of Poitiers*: English victory over France won by the Black Prince; King John of France a prisoner.

1356. The Burnt Candlemas: Edward III burned every town and village in Lothian.

1356. THE GOLDEN BULL settled the mode of electing the Emperor.

1356. War between Venice and Hungary.

1357. Pedro I King of Portugal.

1358. Turks under Suleiman took Gallipoli.

1358. Peace between Hapsburgs and the Swiss League.

1358. Treaty of Zara: Peace between Venice and Hungary: Venice made large cessions.

1358. Revolution in Paris: Étienne Marcel, provost of Paris merchants, led a reform movement, with Charles the Bad of Navarre as tool; he was killed.

1358. *Battle of Sapienza*: Venice defeated by Genoa.

A.D.

1358. Jacquerie or Peasants' Revolt in France.

1359. Amurath (Murad) I became Turkish Sultan.

1359. Turks crossed the Hellespont.

1360. Peace of Bretigny between England and France.

1360. Moldavia independent of Hungary by this date.

1361. *Battle of Adrianople*: Turks defeated the Emperor and captured the town.

1361. Waldemar IV of Denmark recovered Scania and conquered Gotland.

1361. Duchy of Burgundy expired with Philip de Rouvre.

1361. Death of Tauler, German mystic.

1362. *Piers Plowman*, great English poem, attributed to William Langland.

1362. Turks conquered Philippopolis.

1362. English became language of Parliament and the Law Courts in England.

1363. Timour (Tamerlane), the Tatar leader, began his conquests in Central Asia.

1363. The King of France created his son Philip the Bold Duke of Burgundy.

1363. Death of Ranulf Higden, English chronicler.

1364. Charles V King of France.

1364. Crete revolted against Venice.

1365. Peter I of Cyprus took Alexandria, Tripoli, &c., but did not maintain his conquests.

1365. Albert of Mecklenburg superseded Magnus as King of Sweden.

1366. Statute of Kilkenny: English attempt to suppress Irish nationality in Leinster.

1366. Peter the Cruel expelled from Castile by his brother Henry of Trastamara.

1366. Amadeus VI of Savoy took Gallipoli from the Turks and Varna from the Bulgarians.

1367. *Battle of Navarete* (*Najara*): Henry of Trastamara defeated and Peter the Cruel restored to Castilian throne by the aid of the Black Prince.

1367. Ferdinand made Lisbon capital of Portugal.

1367. Adrianople became Turkish capital.

1368. Death of Orcagna, Italian painter, sculptor, and architect.

1368. *Battle of Montiel*: death of Peter the Cruel; succeeded by Henry of Trastamara.

1369. Venetians repelled Hungarian invasion.

1369. Charles V declared war against England.

A.D.

1369. Flanders passed by marriage to the Duchy of Burgundy.

1370. Limoges sacked.

1370. Louis of Hungary elected King of Poland.

1371. Robert II first Stewart king of Scotland.

1371. Turks defeated Louis of Hungary.

1373. Charles IV gained Brandenburg and Lower Lusatia by treaty.

1373. Bertrand du Guesclin reduced Brittany.

1374. Death of Petrarch, Italian poet and pioneer of humanism.

1375. Death of Boccaccio.

1375. Waldemar IV of Denmark succeeded by Margaret.

1376. *The Bruce* of John Barbour.

1376. The Good Parliament.

1377. Richard II King of England.

1377. John Wycliffe summoned before Bishop of London.

1377. End of the Babylonish Captivity of the Popes: Gregory XI returned to Rome.

1378. GREAT SCHISM IN THE PAPACY began: Urban VI and Clement VII both elected and strongly supported.

1378. Wenceslas IV King of Bohemia.

1378. War of Chioggia between Venice and Genoa began.

1379. *Battle of Pola*: Venice defeated by Genoa. Chioggia taken.

1379. John I King of Castile.

1380. Gerhard Groot founded Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer.

1380. John Wycliffe began to attack doctrine of transubstantiation.

1380. Venice won Chioggia back and captured Genoese fleet.

1380. Charles VI King of France.

1380. *Battle of Kulikovo*: Russian victory over Golden Horde under Dimitri Donskoi of Moscow.

1381. First English Navigation Act.

1381. Death of Ruysbroek, Dutch mystic.

1381. Peasants' Revolt in England under Wat Tyler.

1381. Charles of Durazzo conquered Naples: Queen Joanna murdered in 1382.

1381. League of German Free Cities.

1381. End of the War between Venice and Genoa.

1381. Treaty of Turin between Venice and Hungary: Venice ceded Dalmatia.

1382. Earthquake Council in London condemned Wycliffe.

A.D.

1382. Death of Louis the Great of Hungary; a period of disorder follows.

1382. *Battle of Roosebeke*: Philip van Artevelde and the Flemish insurgents defeated by the French: Philip slain.

1382. Moscow taken by Mongols.

1382. Maillotin Revolt in Paris, &c.

1384. Death of Wycliffe.

1384. Union of Heidelberg: peace between Count of Würtemberg and the Suabian League.

1385. Gian Galeazzo Visconti sole ruler of Milan.

1385. *Battle of Aljubarrota*: Portuguese victory over Castilians.

1385. John I King of Portugal.

1386. *Battle of Sempach*: Swiss victory over Austria: Leopold of Austria killed.

1386. Charles VI of France declared war against England.

1386. Death of Charles III of Naples: anarchy followed.

1386. Vladislas II became both King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania: beginning of Jagellon dynasty.

1386. Alliance between England and Portugal confirmed by Treaty of Windsor.

1387. *Canterbury Tales* of Geoffrey Chaucer begun.

1387. John I King of Aragon.

1387. Charles III (the Noble) King of Navarre.

1387. Sigismund King of Hungary.

1388. *Battle of Otterburn*: Scottish victory over English under Hotspur.

1388. *Battle of Naefels*: victory of Swiss canton Glarus over Austrians.

1388. Count of Würtemberg defeated the Suabian League.

1388. Rhenish Towns defeated at *Worms* by Elector Palatine Rupert.

1389. *Battle of Kossovo*: Servians overthrown by Turks; Amurath I killed; Bajazet I succeeded him and obtained from the Caliph the title of Sultan.

1390. Robert III King of Scotland; Duke of Albany Regent.

1390. Henry III King of Castile.

1391. Manuel II Eastern Emperor.

1391. Massacre of Jews in Spain.

1393. Great Statute of Praemunire.

1393. Turks captured Philadelphia, in Asia Minor; also Tirnovo, in Bulgaria.

1394. Hapsburgs recognized the independence of the Swiss League.

A.D.

1395. Gian Galeazzo Visconti obtained from Emperor title of Duke of Milan.

1395. Martin I King of Aragon.

1395. Timour conquered the Kipchaks on the Volga.

1395. Turks, after taking Salonica and Larissa, besieged Constantinople.

1396. Turkish conquest of Bulgaria completed.

1396. Fight at the North Inch between the Clans Chattan and Kay.

1396. *Battle of Nicopolis*: Crusading army of Hungarians, &c., under King Sigismund, defeated by Turks.

1397. Union of Kalmar between Norway, Sweden, and Denmark: Eric VII (XIII of Sweden) recognized as King.

1398. Timour conquered Northern India.

1398. Rome submitted to complete authority of the Pope, who was supported by Ladislas, King of Naples.

1399. Richard II forced to abdicate: Henry IV chosen King of England.

1400. Revolt of Owen Glendower in Wales.

1400. Wenceslas deposed: Rupert, Elector Palatine, elected German King.

1401. William Sawtrey burned in England for heresy under a new statute against heretics.

1401. Rupert failed in Italy.

1401. Compact of Vilna: partial separation of Poland and Lithuania.

1402. Death of the Duke of Rothesay in Falkland Palace.

1402. *Battle of Homildon Hill*: Scots defeated by English under Hotspur.

1402. *Battle of Angora*: Timour defeated Bajazet I and made him prisoner; Turkish pressure on the Empire relieved.

1403. Revolt of the Percies; defeated in *Battle of Shrewsbury*.

1404. John the Fearless became Duke of Burgundy.

1405. Death of Timour; his empire fell apart.

1406. James I of Scotland captured by England; proclaimed King.

1406. John II King of Castile.

1407. Duke of Orleans murdered by a Burgundian.

1407. Rome occupied by Ladislas of Naples.

1408. Death of John Gower, English poet.

1408. Owen Glendower passed out of history.

1409. Sicily joined to Aragon by marriage.

A.D.

1409. Council at Pisa: both Popes deposed; Alexander V elected.

1410. Death of Froissart, historian of the fourteenth century.

1410. *Battle of Tannenberg*: Teutonic Knights overthrown by Poland and Lithuania.

1410. Ferdinand the Catholic King of Aragon.

1411. *Battle of Harlaw*: Highlanders under Donald, Lord of the Isles, defeated by a Lowland force under Earl of Mar.

1411. Sigismund of Hungary elected German King.

1411. *Battle of Rocca Secca*: Louis of Anjou defeated Ladislas of Naples.

1412. Treaty between Hapsburgs and Swiss League renewed.

1412. John Huss of Bohemia excommunicated.

1412. *Battle of St. Cloud*: Burgundian party in France defeated Armagnacs (followers of Orleans); Treaty of Auxerre concluded.

1413. Ladislas of Naples sacked Rome.

1413. Henry V King of England.

1413. Mohammed I Turkish Sultan.

1414. St. Andrews University founded.

1414. Council of Constance met.

1414. Treaty of Arras between Burgundians and Armagnacs.

1415. *Battle of Agincourt*: Henry V defeated French.

1415. Council of Constance condemned Huss, who was burned; Bohemian nobles protested.

1415. Count Frederick of Hohenzollern obtained Brandenburg and title of Elector.

1415. Portugal took Ceuta.

1416. Jerome of Prague, a follower of Huss, burned.

1416. Alfonso V (the Magnanimous) King of Aragon: also King of Sicily and Naples.

1417. Sir John Oldcastle burnt for heresy.

1417. Henry V took Caen.

1417. End of Papal Schism: Martin V sole Pope.

1418. Date of earliest known woodcut.

1418. End of Council of Constance, without touching the reform question.

1418. Burgundians captured Paris.

1419. Henry V captured Rouen.

1419. War between Empire and Bohemia began.

A.D.

1419. Duke of Burgundy murdered at Montereau; Philip the Good succeeded. Burgundians joined the English.

1419. Sigismund King of Bohemia, but not accepted by the people.

1420. Death of Andrew of Wyntoun, author of a metrical chronicle of Scotland.

1420. Treaty of Troyes: Henry V of England recognized as heir to crown of France.

1420. *Battle of Vysehrad*: Bohemians defeated Sigismund.

1421. *Battle of Baugé*: Scottish victory over English.

1421. Amurath II Turkish Sultan.

1421. Sigismund declared deposed in Bohemia.

1422. Henry VI King of England on death of Henry V, and of France on death of Charles VI; Charles VII in France called "King of Bourges".

1422. *Battle of Deutschbrod*: Bohemian victory over Sigismund.

1423. Sigismund crowned Emperor at Rome.

1423. *The Kingis Quair* by James I of Scotland.

1423. *Battle of Crevant*: French defeated by English.

1423. Francesco Foscari Doge of Venice.

1424. James I of Scotland set free.

1424. *Battle of Verneuil*: Duke of Bedford defeated the French.

1424. Treaty between Venice and Florence against Milan.

1425. John VII Eastern Emperor.

1426. Death of Hubert van Eyck, Flemish painter.

1426. Dom Henrique of Portugal (Prince Henry the Navigator) navigated the Guinea coast of Africa and engaged in slave trade.

1426. *Battle of Aussig*: Bohemian victory over the Empire.

1427. Bohemians under Procopius completely defeated the Empire: Germany invaded.

1428. Siege of Orleans by English.

1428. Turks took Salonica.

1429. Death of Masaccio, Italian painter.

1429. Siege of Orleans raised by Joan of Arc.

1429. Charles VII crowned at Rheims.

1431. François Villon, French poet, born.

1431. Joan of Arc burned at Rouen.

1431. *Battle of Taus*: Bohemian victory over Empire.

1431. Council of Basle began.

A.D.

1432. Carmagnola executed by Venetians for treason in the war against Milan.

1433. Sigismund crowned Emperor at Rome.

1434. *Battle of Lipan*: Conflict between different Hussite parties in Bohemia; Procopius killed.

1434. Death of Vladislav II of Poland.

1434. Cosimo de' Medici in power at Florence.

1435. Treaty of Arras between Burgundy and Charles VII.

1435. Alfonso the Magnanimous reunited the Two Sicilies.

1436. Charles VII regained Paris.

1436. Council of Basle practically conceded the demands of the Bohemians.

1436. Sigismund recognized as King of Bohemia.

1436. Charles VIII elected King of Sweden.

1437. James II King of Scotland.

1437. Council of Basle transferred by Pope to Ferrara.

1438. Albert V of Austria became King of Hungary and of Bohemia; elected also German King as Albert II.

1438. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges: Charles VII of France established independence of French Church.

1438. Amurath II invaded Hungary; opposed by John Huniades.

1438. Alfonso V King of Portugal.

1439. Formal Union of Greek and Latin Churches arranged by Council of Basle sitting in Florence.

1439. Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz.

1439. Eric VII of Denmark deposed; Christopher III of Bavaria elected King.

1440. Bruges crushed by Duke Philip.

1440. Frederick III German King.

1440. Death of Jan van Eyck, Flemish painter.

1440. Praguerie revolt in France: nobles against king.

1440. The Azores discovered.

1440. Ladislas V (Postumus) King of Bohemia and Hungary; Vladislas III of Poland a rival in Hungary.

1440. INVENTION OF PRINTING with movable types by Lourens Janszoon Coster at Haarlem; also claimed for Johann Gutenberg of Mainz.

A.D.

1440. Frederick II Elector of Brandenburg.

1441. Thomas à Kempis wrote the *De Imitatione Christi* about this date.

1443. Turks defeated by Albanians under Scanderbeg.

1443. *Battle of Nissa*: Turks defeated by John Huniades.

1444. Peace of Szegedin: Amurath II surrendered suzerainty over Servia, Walachia, and Bosnia to Hungary.

1444. *Battle of Varna*: Turkish victory over Hungary; King Vladislas III killed.

1446. Death of Brunelleschi, Italian pioneer of Renaissance architecture.

1447. Amurath II defeated by Scanderbeg.

1447. Casimir IV King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania.

1448. Constantine XI Eastern Emperor.

1448. French regained Anjou and Maine.

1448. End of the Union of Kalmar: Christian I King of Denmark.

1448. Concordat of Vienna between the Emperor Frederick III and the Pope; obedience of German people to Rome pledged.

1448. *Battle of Kossovo*: John Huniades defeated by the Turks.

1449. End of the Council of Basle.

1450. Rebellion of Jack Cade in England.

1450. Francesco Sforza became Duke of Milan.

1450. *Battle of Formigny*: English defeated by French: Normandy recovered.

1450. Papal Jubilee.

1451. Glasgow University founded.

1451. French recovered Guienne.

1451. Mohammed II Turkish Sultan.

1452. Frederick III crowned Emperor by Pope Nicholas V in Rome: the last coronation of an Emperor at Rome.

1452. James II of Scotland murdered Douglas.

1453. Turks captured Constantinople: END OF THE EASTERN OR BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

1453. Austria was created an Archduchy.

1453. Ladislas V of Hungary became King of Bohemia also.

1453. *Battle of Castillon*: English defeated. END OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN EUROPE: A.D. 1454–1506

A.D.

1454. Peace of Lodi between Venice and Milan.

1454. First known document printed from movable types: at Mainz.

1454. Prussia incorporated in Poland.

1454. Henry IV King of Castile.

1455. Wars of the Roses began in England: *First Battle of St. Albans*: Yorkist victory.

1455. Death of Lorenzo Ghiberti, Italian sculptor.

1455. House of Douglas overthrown in Scotland.

1455. Death of Fra Angelico, Italian religious painter.

1456. Turkish attack on Belgrade repelled by John Huniades.

1457. End of Foscari's dogeship: Venice began to decline.

1457. Death of Ladislas V of Hungary and Bohemia.

1458. Matthias Corvinus, son of John Huniades, elected King of Hungary; George Podiebrad elected King of Bohemia.

1458. Death of Alfonso the Magnanimous: Two Sicilies again separated.

1458. John II King of Aragon. Ferdinand I King of Naples.

1459. Turks conquered Servia.

1460. The *Wallace* of Blind Harry.

1460. William Dunbar, Scottish poet, born.

1460. James III King of Scotland.

1460. *Battle of Wakefield*: Lancastrian victory.

1460. Turks conquered the Morea.

1460. Denmark obtained Schleswig and Holstein.

1461. Empire of Trebizond destroyed by Turks.

1461. *Second Battle of St. Albans*: Lancastrian victory.

1461. *Battle of Mortimer's Cross*: Yorkist victory.

1461. *Battle of Towton*: Yorkist victory made Edward IV King of England.

1461. Louis XI King of France.

1461. Ivan III (the Great) ruler of Moscow.

1461. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges revoked.

1462. *Battle of Puck*: Polish victory; Prussia conquered.

A.D.

1463. War began between Venice and the Turks.

1463. Turks acknowledged Scanderbeg as ruler of Albania.

1464. Death of Roger van der Weyden, Flemish painter.

1464. Turks conquered Bosnia.

1464. Death of Cosimo de' Medici of Florence: succeeded by his son Piero.

1465. Death of Bishop Kennedy, Scottish statesman.

1465. League of Public Welfare formed by French nobles against Louis XI.

1466. Treaty of Thorn between Poland and the Teutonic Knights; Poland dominant and master of Prussia.

1466. Death of Donatello, Italian sculptor.

1467. Turks conquered Herzegovina.

1467. Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy.

1468. Orkney Islands annexed to Scotland.

1468. War declared against Bohemia by Hungary.

1468. Louis XI imprisoned by Charles the Bold at Péronne.

1469. Shetland Islands annexed to Scotland.

1469. Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, crowned King of Bohemia by Papal legate.

1469. Lorenzo de' Medici began rule in Florence along with his brother Giuliano.

1469. Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile.

1470. Truce between Hungary and Bohemia.

1470. Turks took Negropont.

1470. Three northern kingdoms reunited under Christian I of Denmark.

1471. Death of Thomas à Kempis, author of the *Imitation of Christ*.

1471. *Battle of Barnet*: Yorkist victory.

1471. *Battle of Tewkesbury*: Yorkist victory.

1471. Death of George Podiebrad of Bohemia; Prince Vladislav of Poland elected King.

1471. Sixtus IV became Pope; notorious for nepotism and abuses.

1471. Ivan the Great conquered Novgorod.

1472. Philip de Comines joined Louis XI.

1473. Venice obtained Cyprus.

1473. Charles the Bold completed Burgundian power in Netherlands.

A.D.

1474. Scutari successfully defended against Turks.

1474. Ferdinand the Catholic King of Castile.

1474. Everlasting Compact: Swiss independence recognized.

1475. First book printed in English language (*Recuyell of the Histories of Troy*) by William Caxton at Bruges.

1475. Edward IV invaded France to help Charles the Bold: Treaty of Pecquigny arranged with Louis XI.

1475. *Battle of Racova*: Stephen the Great of Moldavia defeated the Turks.

1476. William Caxton set up his printing press at Westminster.

1476. *Battle of Granson*: Swiss defeated Charles the Bold.

1476. *Battle of Morat*: Swiss defeated Charles the Bold.

1476. *Battle of Toro*: Portugal defeated by Ferdinand of Castile.

1477. *Battle of Nancy*: Charles the Bold defeated and killed; end of the Duchy.

1477. Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, married Maximilian, afterwards Emperor.

1478. Plot of the Pazzi in Florence: Giuliano de' Medici killed; Lorenzo's position strengthened.

1478. Treaty of Olmütz between Hungary and Bohemia: Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia ceded to former.

1479. Treaty of Brünn between Poland and Hungary.

1479. Treaty of Constantinople between Venice and Turkey.

1479. Ferdinand the Catholic became Ferdinand II of Aragon: Aragon and Castile united.

1479. *Battle of Guinegate*: French defeated by Maximilian.

1480. Turks occupied Otranto for a short time; failed against Rhodes.

1481. Spanish Inquisition established by Ferdinand the Catholic, with Torquemada as its chief.

1481. John II became King of Portugal.

1481. Hans became King of Denmark.

1481. Bajazet II became Turkish Sultan.

1482. Treaty of Arras between France and the Netherlands: Louis IX received Duchy of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Picardy, &c.

1483. Edward V murdered; Richard III King of England.

1483. Charles VIII King of France.

A.D.

1485. *Battle of Bosworth*: Richard III defeated and killed. Henry VII King of England: first of the Tudor dynasty.

1485. The *Morte d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory published.

1485. Matthias Corvinus took Vienna.

1485. The Mad War in France.

1485. Partition of Leipzig: henceforward two Saxon lines.

1486. Bartholomew Diaz doubled Cape of Good Hope.

1486. Frederick the Wise Elector of Saxony.

1486. John became Elector of Brandenburg.

1487. Revolt of Lambert Simnel against Henry VII.

1487. Matthias Corvinus master of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia.

1488. Death of Verrocchio, Italian sculptor.

1488. *Battle of Sauchieburn*: death of James III and accession of James IV of Scotland.

1488. Venice obtained Cyprus.

1490. Death of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary; Vladislav II of Bohemia elected: Hungarians expelled from Austrian duchies by Emperor Maximilian.

1490. Maximilian obtained Tirol.

1491. Maximilian invaded Hungary: Treaty of Pressburg.

1491. France obtained Brittany by marriage.

1492. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS DISCOVERED THE WEST INDIES.

1492. Henry VII invaded France: Treaty of Étaples.

1492. Ferdinand the Catholic conquered Granada: end of Moorish power in Spain.

1492. Expulsion of Jews from Spain.

1492. Death of Lorenzo de' Medici.

1492. Alexander VI became Pope: scandalous reign.

1492. Death of Casimir IV of Poland.

1493. Maximilian I became German King.

1493. End of the Lordship of the Isles.

1493. Pope Alexander VI divided newly explored lands between Spain and Portugal.

1493. Treaty of Senlis: France gave Maximilian Artois and the County of Burgundy.

1494. Death of Hans Memling, Flemish painter.

A.D.

1494. Aldus Manutius printing at Venice.

1494. Lollards of Kyle in Scotland, pioneers of Reformation.

1494. Turks driven out of Styria.

1494. The Medici expelled from Florence.

1494. Charles VIII of France invaded Italy.

1494. Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal.

1494. Sir Edward Poynings Lord Deputy of Ireland.

1494. The *Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools) of Sebastian Brant.

1494. Poynings' Law passed: Parliament of Ireland made entirely dependent on that of England.

1495. Play of *Everyman* not later than this date.

1495. Manuel King of Portugal.

1495. Charles VIII conquered Naples.

1495. *Battle of Fornovo*: French advance in Italy checked.

1495. Holy League against France between Ferdinand, the Pope, the Emperor, &c.

1496. Magnus Intercursus: a commercial treaty between England and Netherlands.

1496. Philip, son of Emperor Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, married Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

1497. John Cabot discovered Labrador and Newfoundland.

1497. Perkin Warbeck captured.

1497. Turks devastated Poland.

1498. Savonarola executed in Florence.

1498. Erasmus at Oxford.

1498. Vasco da Gama reached India by sea.

1498. Louis XII King of France.

A.D.

1499. Vicente Pinzon and Amerigo Vespucci reached America.

1499. *Battle of Sapienza*: Venetian fleet totally defeated by Turks.

1499. Louis XII conquered Milan: Ludovico il Moro overthrown.

1499. War between Ivan the Great and Alexander of Lithuania.

1499. Peace of Basle: Swiss League virtually recognized as independent of the Empire.

1500. Death of Robert Henryson, Scottish poet.

1500. *Battle of Vedrosha*: Lithuanians routed by Russians.

1500. Pedro Cabral discovered Brazil.

1501. France and Spain arranged joint conquest and partition of kingdom of Naples; then fell out over the spoils.

1501. Alexander King of Poland: final union with Lithuania.

1502. Massacre of the Orsini at Rome by Pope Alexander VI and his son Cæsar Borgia.

1503. Marriage of James IV of Scotland to Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII.

1503. *Battle of Garigliano*: French defeated by Spanish in Italy.

1503. Julius II became Pope; Cæsar Borgia overthrown.

1504. Treaty of Blois between Louis XII and Maximilian I.

1505. Almeida Portuguese Viceroy in India.

1505. Basil III Tsar of Moscow.

1506. Sigismund I King of Poland.

1506. Death of Andrea Mantegna, Italian painter.

1506. Philip, husband of Juana, recognized as King of Castile: reckoned as Philip I of Spain; died same year.

1506. Death of Columbus.

THE GREAT MOVEMENTS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

MEDIÆVAL HISTORY

FROM THE FALL OF ROME TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD (END OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

INTRODUCTORY

A comparison between the condition of Europe at the end of the fifth century and its condition a thousand years later will reveal the general trend of the history of the continent during the ten centuries known as Mediæval History.

(1) Europe at the Fall of Rome.

(*a*) ROMAN EMPIRE.

(α) *West.*—At an end; Rome in the hands of Odoacer, who sought from the Eastern Emperor the title "Patrician" in Italy. For the first time since the foundation of the Empire there was no prince representing the Imperial succession.

(β) *East.*—Sole representative of the Imperial dignity was at Constantinople, and this Empire lasted till the year 1453.

(*b*) THE BARBARIANS.—West Goths (Visigoths) in Spain; Franks in Gaul (and as far as Rhine); Angles and Saxons in Britain; East Goths (Ostrogoths) in Italy—in 493, after conquest of Odoacer by Theodoric; Lombards in N. Italy (kingdom 568–774); other Teutonic tribes in modern Germany.

(*c*) THE PAPACY.—St. Peter (according to tradition founded on Jerome) first Bishop of Rome, 42. Papacy a subordinate institution so long as Imperial representatives resided in Rome, but when the capital was transferred from Rome to Ravenna, owing to Lombard invasions (sixth century), the temporal power of the Papacy began, the popes being obliged to defend themselves. (See notes on Gregory I.) The spiritual claims of Rome, one of the original centres of Christianity (see Vol. I), and the only centre connected with the Imperial dignity, had been formulated before its temporal power was founded.

(2) Europe at the Discovery of the New World.

(*a*) ROMAN EMPIRE.

(α) *West.*—Had been revived (800) by Charlemagne, the Frankish king, in alliance with the Papacy (Leo III being Pope at the time), the new Empire being known later as "the Holy Roman Empire".

(β) *East.*—At an end (see *supra*).

(*b*) THE BARBARIANS.—No longer "barbarians", but in most cases young and growing nations; e.g., England (time of Henry VII); Scotland (time of James IV); France a separate monarchical nation; most of modern Germany and Austria, part of the Holy Roman Empire; Italy divided into several small states, an easy prey to foreign conquest; the Netherlands (modern Holland and Belgium) about to pass to Spain after being under the Dukes of Burgundy; Spain—conquest of Moors in Granada by Castilians (1492), and Spain brought under the united Houses of Castile and Aragon.

(*c*) THE PAPACY.—Weakened by contests with the Empire, and about to suffer the greatest shock it ever experienced—the Reformation.

The Europe of 1500 thus foreshadows the events of Modern History, which group themselves round the rise and

expansion of the nations, or, to express the same thing in different words, Democracy and Colonization. The old barbarians became in the process the leading nations of Modern Europe.

Our main divisions will be:—

A. Italy, the Papacy, and the Franks, to the death of Pepin the Short, 768.

B. Charles the Great (Charlemagne) and the Frankish Emperors, 768–887.

C. Germany to the coronation of Otto the Great as Emperor, 962.

D. The Saxon, Franconian, Hohenstaufen, Luxemburg, Hapsburg, and other Emperors, and their contest with the Papacy, to 1493. (Holy Roman Empire did not come to an end till 1806.)

E. The growth of the French Monarchy, 843–1498.

F. Spain from the time of the Visigoths to the Conquest of Granada, 1492.

G. The Eastern Empire to 1453.

H. The Establishment of Mohammedanism, the Crusades, and the Advance of the Turks.

I. The Monastic Movement, Schisms, and Councils.

J. The Italian Republics, the Swiss Confederation, and the Hanseatic League (miscellaneous group).

K. Northern Europe—Scandinavia, Denmark, Russia, &c.—in the Middle Ages.

L. European Civilization in the Middle Ages.

A. ITALY, THE PAPACY, AND THE FRANKS,

TO THE DEATH OF PEPIN THE SHORT, 768

I. Italy.—In the history of Italy up to 768 we have to trace the establishment of the temporal power of the Papacy as the state becomes weaker owing to Lombard invasions.

(1) *Kingdom of East Goths in Italy* established (493) by Theodoric, who defeated Odoacer, and who became in 510 virtually *King of the West Goths* also. Roman institutions kept up, and much excellent work done in reforms, building, &c.

(2) *Restoration of Imperial Control* over Italy; conquest by Belisarius and Narses, generals of Justinian (535–554).

(3) *Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy* established (568) by Alboin. The Lombards a heathen, Teutonic race, originating in Scandinavia. Capital, Pavia. All Italy conquered except Venice, Ravenna (refuge of Imperial governors), Naples, and Calabria. Rome became gradually independent, and the opportunity of the Papacy was presented.

II. The Papacy.—Chief lay official in Rome had far less dignity and importance than the head of the Christian Church of the west. This fact was taken advantage of by Pope Gregory I (Gregory the Great, Pope 590–604), whose work can be summarized as follows:—

(1) *As Statesman and Administrator.*—Defender of Rome against Lombards and negotiator with the enemy; fed poor people at expense of Church; negotiated treaties and appointed military and political officials.

(2) *As Writer and Saint.*—Great personal sanctity, acquired through rigid asceticism; drew up strict disciplinary system for his monks before he became Pope; founded monasteries; reformed Church music and introduced the Gregorian chant, which is still in vogue both in the Roman Catholic Church and in some Anglican churches; wrote theological works, and gained a place as one of the four great scholars of the Roman Church, a place which he does not merit.

(3) *As Missionary Enthusiast.*—Reunited Italy, Spain, and Britain to the Church of Christ by spreading Christianity in Lombardy, converting Reccared the Visigoth from Arianism to Christianity, and organizing the mission of Augustine to Kent.

By his work Gregory laid the foundation of that peculiar power of the Papacy—strange mixture for so long of religious and secular—which it was never to lose.

III. The Franks.—Many tribes and many kings; but in fifth century two main divisions:—

(1) *Salian Franks* (name from "Sala", old name of River Yssel, in Germany, which flowed through their original home). Chief towns—Tournai, Cambrai, Arras.

(2) *Ripuarian Franks* (name from "ripa", or bank, of Rhine). Chief towns—Cologne, Trier (Trèves), Mainz (Mayence), and Metz.

South of the lands occupied by the Ripuarians was Burgundy, then a new kingdom; south of the lands occupied by the Salians was a district of Roman

Gaul which acknowledged Rome until the fall of the Western Empire.

Chief points in the Rise of the Franks till time of Charles the Great:—

(1) Unification of Frankish kingdoms and conquest of neighbouring tribes, a process similar to the contemporary process by which all England became subject to the House of Wessex.

(2) Rise of the Mayors of the Palace, consequent on decay of early Frankish (Merovingian) monarchy.

(3) The Great Mayors of the Palace (line of Pepin and Arnulf).

(4) The early Carolingian monarchy (751–768).

Only the outstanding features of the movement can be shown here.

(1) UNIFICATION OF FRANKISH KINGDOMS—481 to 656.

(*a*) *Dynasty.*—The Merovingian kings, a cruel, treacherous, perfidious House, divided against itself, and finally paying the penalty for its wrongs in extinction.

(*b*) *Unions.*—Three in number, to be upset by the practice of dividing the kingdom amongst several sons, who watched each other for an opportunity to seize each other's lands.

(*α*) *First Union*, 510–511, under Clovis (Chlodwig or Chlodovech), King of the Salians.

(*β*) *Second Union*, 558–561, under Clotaire I, son of Clovis, who survived his brothers. Three chief parts following death of Clotaire:—

1. *Austrasia.*—"Eastern" kingdom; capital, Rheims; population, German.
2. *Neustria.*—"New" or "NewWest" kingdom; capital, Soissons; population, Romance.
3. *Burgundy.*—Capital, Orleans; population, Romance.

Burgundy was soon absorbed by the other two kingdoms, and the struggle for leadership commenced between Austrasia and Neustria, to end in the victory of the former under the Mayors of the Palace.

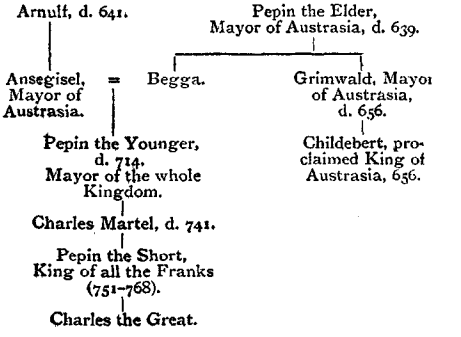
(*γ*) *Third Union*, 613–628, under Clotaire II, grandson of Clotaire I. Decline of monarchy had now begun, though it was not until 751 that a Mayor of the Palace became king.

(2) RISE OF THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE.—A process contemporary with the decay of the monarchy.

(*a*) *Position.*—Monarchy was despotic—as kingdom grew in size no trace of popular assemblies similar to the early Saxon assemblies portrayed in Tacitus's *Germania*; hence, kings had to rely for advice and assistance on officials of royal household. Chief official was "Mayor of the Palace" ("Major Palatii"), the king's "other self".

(*b*) *House of Arnulf and Pepin.*—Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, and Pepin, Mayor of the Palace, were advisers of Dagobert I, king 630–639. Marriage between son of Arnulf and daughter of Pepin resulted in a succession of great Mayors of the Palace, the last of whom became the first Carolingian King of the Franks and father of Charles the Great.

THE LINE OF PEPIN AND ARNULF


Arnulf, d. 641.
Pepin the Elder, Mayor of Austrasia, d. 639.
Ansegisel, Mayor of Austrasia.
=
Begga.
Grimwald, Mayor of Austrasia, d. 656.
Pepin the Younger, d. 714. Mayor of the whole Kingdom.
Childebert, proclaimed King of Austrasia, 656.
Charles Martel, d. 741.
Pepin the Short, King of all the Franks (751–768).
Charles the Great.

(*c*) Attempt of Grimwald (see table above) to make his son King of Austrasia proved a failure. The time was not yet ripe.

(3) THE GREAT MAYORS OF THE PALACE.—Chief of them three in number.

(*a*) *Pepin the Younger*, who subdued the Frisians and Suabians, and sent to the former the missionary S. Willibrord (a Northumbrian, product of training of Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon and of Irish Christianity).

(*b*) *Charles Martel* (Charles "the Hammer"), natural son of Pepin, who had designed his grandson (son of one of his legitimate sons) to succeed him. But he was a boy of eight, and as there was also a child-king, a child-mayor could not be tolerated. Charles acknowledged as Mayor and given command of Austrasian army against Neustrians, who were ravaging Austrasia. Neustrians repelled; border tribes invaded and Christianized (mission of Boniface—the Wessex monk Winfrith—to Germany); and defeat of Saracens (see *History of Spain*, below) between Poitiers and Tours (732).

(4) THE EARLY CAROLINGIAN MONARCHY (751–768).

Pepin the Short helped Pope against Lombards, and was crowned, in consequence, King of all the Franks; completion of conquest of Aquitaine. Pepin was the most important European ruler since the time of Theodoric the Great.

B. CHARLES THE GREAT

AND THE FRANKISH EMPERORS—768–887

The following processes had led to the accession of Charles the Great:—

(1) Establishment of Franks in Gaul.

(2) Union of Frankish Kingdoms under Merovingians.

(3) Decay of Merovingian monarchy and rise of Mayors of Palace.

(4) Foundation of Carolingian monarchy by Pepin the Short.

We have now to trace the revival of the Empire of the West in the person of Charles the Great and the fall of the Frankish Empire under the successors of Charles.

I. Charles the Great.—King 768–814; Emperor 800–814.

(1) *Wars and Conquests.* — In Aquitaine, Lombardy (Charles proclaimed King in Italy with title:—"King of the Franks and Lombards, and Roman Patrician"), Saxony, Spain, Bavaria, Bohemia, and Italy. Northern Slavs (between Elbe and Oder) and Avars subdued.

Charles's sway extended over most of Italy, the north of Spain (near Pyrenees), and the whole of Central Europe, as far east as the middle Danube.

(2) *Charles and the Empire.*—Charles crowned Emperor in Rome on Christmas Day, 800, by Leo III.

(*a*) *Reasons for Revival of Empire of West.*—Little can be said in favour of its legality, but much for it as a recognition of accomplished facts. The following circumstances impelled the new departure:—

(α) Italian feeling that Rome, and not Constantinople, should be centre of Empire.

(β) Eastern Empire ruled by a woman (Irene, 797–802); a barbarian Augustus would be no more unusual a sight than a woman Emperor.

(γ) Gratitude of Leo III to Charles for relief from domestic enemies.

(δ) Ambition of Charles himself, who had had serious thoughts of the revival long before.

(*b*) *Results of the Coronation.*

(α) Papal claim to supremacy in matters of State—long contest between Popes and Emperors lasting through the Middle Ages.

(β) Increase in authority of Charles, who began to insist on his supervision of matters moral and religious, a power similar to that of the Israelitish kings.

(γ) Beginning of conception of "Holy Roman Empire".

(3) *An Estimate of Charles's Work.*

(*a*) *As Statesman.*—Great; every part of his realm organized for purposes of government and the administration of justice by appointment of royal legates called "Missi Dominici".

(*b*) *As Soldier.*—Great, as will be seen from the extent of his conquests.

(*c*) *As Patron of Art and Literature.*—Enlightened; learned men, such as Alcuin of Northumbria, Peter of Pisa, and Paul the Deacon, collected round him; monasteries were founded; the old Frankish epics were written out; and historical sources became much more full.

(*d*) *As Builder.*—Cathedral of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle, burial-place of Charles) built; bridge over Main at Mainz, 500 yards long (destroyed by fire, 813), constructed; royal palaces erected.

Romances began to gather round his name after his death which had little foundation in fact; but apart from them and their small element of truth Charles stands out as the greatest man of his time and one of the great men of the world.

II. Fall of the Frankish Empire—814–887. A perplexing period, owing to the Frankish custom of heritage division, similar Christian names, and the Viking invasions. Only a few broad facts can be indicated here.

(1) DIVISIONS OF EMPIRE.

(*a*) Charles succeeded by his son, Louis "the Pious" (814–40), who divided the Empire during his lifetime amongst his three sons, and on the birth of a fourth (Charles the Bald, Emperor 875–877) made a new arrangement, to the disadvantage of the original participants in the division. Civil wars in consequence.

(*b*) *Treaty of Verdun* (843), ending civil war between sons of Louis the Pious. Empire divided into three portions—Western (French), Central, and Eastern (German).

(*c*) Constant tendencies towards subdivision, until all idea of union was given up on the deposition of Charles the Fat (Emperor 881–887), and the Frankish Empire came to an end, to be succeeded by the German revival of the Holy Roman Empire by Otto the Great.

(2) INVASIONS OF THE VIKINGS, OR NORTHMEN.

(*a*) *The Northmen.*—Danish, Swedish, Gothic, and Norwegian tribes, attracted by the wealth of the Frankish Empire, and fearful of Frankish invasions.

(*b*) *Directions of their Raids.*—First trace of them about 789:—

(*α*) Eastern England and Western Europe —Northumbria, East Anglia, Mercia, Wessex, Saxony, France, Austrasia, and Neustria. Great siege of Paris, 885-6.

(*β*) Western Scotland and Ireland.

The invasions ended in the conquest of England (under Canute), and of part of France, which became known as Normandy.

Our next task is to trace the rise of the German Kingdom and the revival of the Holy Roman Empire.

C. GERMANY

TO THE CORONATION OF OTTO THE GREAT AS EMPEROR, 962

The united Frankish dominion was at an end, to be succeeded in Empire leadership by the German division (see Treaty of Verdun, *supra*), the rise of which we are now to trace. In 1843 Germany celebrated the 1000th anniversary of her national existence.

I. Carolingian Kings in Germany, 843-911.—Louis the German (see Treaty of Verdun, *supra*); Charles the Fat (Emperor also; ruled over the Western Franks also); Arnulf of Carinthia (Emperor 896); Louis the Child (died 911).

Under the last-named king Germany seemed about to split into five divisions —Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, and Lotharingia — but on his death Conrad of Franconia became King (911-918). He had to resist Magyar invasions and to keep in check his nobles. After him the Saxon House became supreme.

II. Saxon Kings and Emperors, 919 onwards.—The great problem was whether Germany should break into parts, as the Carolingian Empire had done, or become united. The problem was solved for a time by the Saxon House.

(1) HENRY I (the Fowler), first Saxon King of Germany; merely overlord of the federation of duchies, as Alfred was only chief among kings in England. Control over Suabia, Bavaria, and Lotharingia established, and Magyars (Hungarians) defeated. Succeeded by his son,

(2) OTTO I (the Great), 936-973.—Built on the foundations laid by his father.

(*a*) Rebellions of dukes of Bavaria, Franconia, and Lotharingia subdued.

(*b*) Victories over the Hungarians; the East Mark, called later *Austria*, set up. (A mark, or marchland, was a frontier district set up for defensive purposes.)

(*c*) *Revival of the Empire.*—In the interim between 887 and 962 the Imperial title had been held by Italian (Lombard) Kings, but their authority was very small ("Phantom Emperors"). Last was Berenger (died 924). Contest followed between two claimants, who sought help from the Germans.

(*α*) Otto, King of Italy, 951—expedition to Pavia successful. Otto married Adelheid (Adelaide), widow of one of the claimants, and recognized Berenger, the other claimant, as vassal King of Italy.

(*β*) The Papacy—period of worst degradation. No spiritual influence. Contest with Berenger for central Italy. Pope John XII appealed to Otto for help. Otto crossed the Alps to his aid.

Revival of the Empire—962.

D. THE EMPIRE

FROM 962 TO 1493

I. Reasons for the revival of the Empire.

(1) *Theories.*

(*a*) Influence of the Roman Empire on the minds of men. It was regarded that a world-domination was the only possible method of preserving peace amongst the Kings and other rulers of Europe. This idea persisted long after the nations had taken definite shape and the effective powers of the Empire had declined. Hence the Imperial title existed till the year 1806 —till, as Voltaire expressed it, the Holy Roman Empire was "neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire".

(*b*) Influence of the dual idea of a World-Empire and a World-Religion. The worship of many gods (Polytheism in its various forms) had given place to the worship of one God (Roman Christianity). The brotherhood of man, a cardinal point in Christian doctrine, could best be realized

by the existence of an all-embracing Empire, which should be the ally of the Papacy (the head of the World-Religion) after the manner of the connection between body and soul. In theory the two powers were to be in complete accord, as complementary parts of the great Divine order of things; but this perfect agreement was approached only under Charles the Great, Otto III, and Henry III, and the claims of Hildebrand (Gregory VII, Pope 1073–1085), Alexander III (Pope 1159–1181), and Innocent III (Pope 1198–1216) grew into the arrogant pretensions of Boniface VIII (Pope 1294–1303) to be also Cæsar, Lord of the World.

(*c*) Influence of belief that the end of the Roman Empire would be the end of the world. The Roman Empire was typified by the iron legs of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's vision (*Daniel* ii, 31–35). The conquerors of Rome had themselves become part of its system, and thus the Empire lived, while its powers were long dead. But in the Middle Ages the divergence between theory and practice was of no moment; so long as the Empire could be kept alive, if only in spirit, the existence of the world was assured.

The Empire was thus Holy (religious in its purpose) and Roman, holding forth to the world an ideal of unity and comprehension that has never been surpassed. In theory its members formed one Christian people, all equal before God; their bodies were in the care of the Emperor and their souls in the keeping of the Pope. And what could have been better, in theory, than for God's greatest representatives on earth to have so close an interest in the bodies and souls of men? Such was the theory; how different the practice!

(2) *Motives of Otto.*—Those of ambition.

(*a*) Desire to strengthen his position in Germany and Italy, in neither of which was there any unity outside that which had as its condition subjection to an Emperor.

(*b*) Desire to reorganize the German Church and to control Papal elections.

(3) *Motive of the Pope.*

Necessity of German help against the turbulence of Central Italy, no assistance being forthcoming from the Eastern Empire.

The German King was now Roman Emperor, and thus united two offices in his person. Unable to fulfil adequately the duties of both—one imperial and one feudal—he became more than a German King, and less than a Roman Emperor. But the German people were raised to the chief position in Europe, which they occupied until the rise of the nationalities whose ranks they have been so long in joining. Only the outlines of the history of the Empire can be given here.

II. Saxon Emperors, 936–1024.

(1) Otto I (936–973), Emperor, 962.—Empire not so wide as that of Charles; e.g., West Franks were laying foundation of their independence: modern France dates from the accession of Hugh Capet (987). But Burgundy made a vassal state, and Otto's son, afterwards Otto II, was married to Theophano, daughter of the Emperor of the East.

(2) Otto II (973–983).—Aim to weld together Italy and Germany and to make Imperial power a reality. First idea of a Crusade in his reign.

(3) Otto III (983–1002).—A child of three on his father's death. Regency of Theophano.

(*a*) *Papacy.*—Accession of Sylvester II (formerly Gerbert of Aurillac, tutor of Otto; took title of Sylvester II because Sylvester I had been Pope of first Christian Emperor, Constantine).

(*b*) *Schemes of Otto and Sylvester.*—To revive in every way the practices and the ideals of the Roman Empire and, to make Rome the centre, and Germany and Italy parts, of the Empire. Title, "Romanorum Imperator" ("Emperor of the Romans"—not of the Greeks also), used. Otto's schemes failed, and he died without an heir.

(4) Henry II (1002–1024).—Empire and Italy not yet hereditary in House of Otto, nor yet attached to the German Kingdom. Italy became independent under Ardoin of Ivrea, who was eventually deposed, and Henry became King.

III. Franconian or Salian Emperors, 1024–1125.—The *Investiture Contest.*

(1) Conrad II (1024–1039).—Canute (King of England and Denmark) present in Rome at his coronation as Emperor (1027). Final union of Burgundy with the Empire (1032). Con-

rad ruled over the whole of the Carolingian Empire except France.

(2) HENRY III (1039–1056).—Imperial power at its highest point—Germany united, Italy dependent, Papacy reformed (nominee of Emperor accepted), and Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia made fiefs of Empire.

(3) HENRY IV (1056–1106).—Beginning of decline of Empire.

(*a*) *Saxon revolt* only suppressed with difficulty (1073–5).

(*b*) *Rise of Gregory VII* (Hildebrand)—Pope 1073–1085. Educated at monastery of *Cluny*, the source of one of the greatest monastic revivals of the Middle Ages. As Pope he enforced celibacy amongst the clergy, repressed simony, and opposed lay investitures, thus causing the *Investiture Contest*, which pressed heavily on Germany, where half of the land was in the hands of the Church. Keynote of his policy was that the Papacy was the master of Emperors and Kings, and that the Roman Church was infallible ("To resist it is to resist God"). Decree of 1075 declared illegal the practice of investiture of a cleric (conferring of ring and staff, symbols of authority) at the hands of a layman. Signal for struggle between Empire and Papacy lasting two centuries.

(*c*) *Hildebrand and Henry IV*—

(α) Council at Worms, 1076.—Pope declared to be deposed ("I, Henry, King by the grace of God, with all of my bishops, say unto thee: 'Come down, come down'").

(β) Synod at Vatican, 1076.—Henry excommunicated; all Christians released from their oaths of fealty to him.

(γ) Diet of Tribur, 1076.—German barons refused to obey Henry till he had been forgiven by the Pope.

(δ) *Canossa*, 1077.—Complete surrender of Henry to Hildebrand, after the penitent Emperor had waited for three days in the snow in the castle yard. (Compare submission of John of England to Innocent III.)

(*d*) *Result of the Submission*—

(α) A blow at the Empire from which it never recovered. "The spell of ages was broken", as one writer expresses it. Enemies of the Emperor allied with the Pope, and vice versa. Canossa did not end the struggle.

(β) Alienation of Empire from Papacy at beginning of era of Crusades, when the Emperors missed the opportunity of fulfilling one of the missions of the Empire.

(*e*) *Rival Emperors and Popes.*—German nobles deposed Henry and elected Rudolph of Suabia, who defeated Henry (1080). Second excommunication of Henry, who declared Hildebrand to be deposed and Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, to be his successor, as Clement III. Thus, two Emperors and two Popes. Hildebrand besieged in castle of St. Angelo, and released by Robert Guiscard, a Norman (1084). Death of Hildebrand (1085)—"I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile".

Further struggles of Henry with rival kings.

[Proclamation of First Crusade at Council of Clermont, 1095, by Urban II.]

(4) HENRY V (1106–1125).—Continuation of the Investiture Contest.

(*a*) Temporal property of Church renounced to Henry by Paschal II—temporary revenge of Canossa. But the clergy forced the Pope to withdraw his concessions.

(*b*) Further quarrels between Henry and the successors of Paschal II. Calixtus II (Pope 1119–1124) tried to end the struggle. Compromise possible similar to the English settlement (Henry I and Anselm).

(α) Council of Rheims, 1119—a failure.

(β) Council of Worms, 1122, ending in *Concordat of Worms*:—

1. *Emperor* abandoned investiture by ring and staff and granted freedom of election and consecration in the churches.
2. *Pope* granted rights of Imperial decision in elections of bishops and abbots, and Imperial investiture by sceptre.

(*c*) *Character of the Concordat.*—A compromise, and the end of the Investiture Contest. But the Papacy had triumphed, and the Concordat afforded only a short interval between two phases of the struggle between Empire and Papacy.

IV. Hohenstaufen Emperors, 1138–1254.—Struggle of Guelfs and Ghibellines added to struggle between Empire and Papacy. Papacy supported Guelfs.

(1) HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN, named after Castle of Hohenstaufen, between valleys of Neckar and Danube. Frederick of Hohenstaufen made Duke of Suabia by Henry IV. Rival was Duke of Bavaria. Thus arose the quarrel of Guelf (or Welf—Bavaria, and later Saxony also) and Ghibelline (or Waiblingen—House of Hohenstaufen).

(2) LOTHAIR II (1125–1137), of Saxony; supported by Bavaria, and elected to the exclusion of Frederick of Hohenstaufen. Union of Houses of Saxony and Bavaria ensured by mar-

riage of Lothair's daughter to Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria. Great advance of Germany in civilization and power during Lothair's reign, and homage of the Danes and Bohemians.

(3) CONRAD III (1138–1152), brother of Frederick of Hohenstaufen; elected, to the exclusion of Henry the Proud; victory of the Ghibelline over the Guelf party. Conrad went on the Second Crusade (1147–1149).

(4) FREDERICK I, Barbarossa (1152–1190), nephew of Conrad; one of the most attractive figures of the Middle Ages.

(*a*) *Policy.*

(α) "To re-establish the empire of Rome on its ancient basis" (chronicler). Frederick has been called "a sort of Imperialist Hildebrand".

(β) To restore the Imperial rights over Northern Italy. Thus, war with the cities of Lombardy, which formed the Lombard League.

(*b*) *Italy.*—Six expeditions to Italy, mostly against Lombard League; peace made in 1183, by which Emperor retained only overlordship of cities, which henceforward developed independently of Germany.

(*c*) *Papacy.*—Continuation of struggle with Empire.

(α) Adrian IV (1154–1159). — Troubles with Romans and their leader, Arnold of Brescia, who was captured by Frederick and burnt. Emperor forced to assist Pope in dismounting from his horse, on pain of papal refusal to confer Imperial crown. Further quarrels between Adrian and Frederick.

(β) Alexander III (1159–1181). — Antipope Victor IV set up, succeeded by Paschal III. Frederick claimed to settle dispute, but Alexander, supported by Lombard cities, refused to admit his claim. Struggle for thirty years, ended by Peace of Venice (1177) and submission of Frederick, just a century after Canossa.

(*d*) *Germany.* — Guelf *v.* Ghibelline. Increase in power of Henry the Lion, son of Henry the Proud (see *supra*), owing to Frederick's absence in Italy. Henry humbled (1180).

1156—Final establishment of duchy of Austria.

(*e*) *Sicily.* — Marriage of Frederick's son, Henry, with Constance, heiress of Sicily; ultimate union of Sicily with Empire.

(*f*) *Third Crusade* (1189–1192).—Frederick drowned in Cilicia when on his way to the Holy Land.

A magnificent failure. One of the heroes of the Middle Ages, and the centre of many legends. His reign a brilliant period in literature and music —"Nibelungenlied" rewritten; songs of "Minnesinger"; Civil Law studied. Men thought that Frederick only slept, and would some day wake again, to reign over the Kingdom of God on earth.

(5) HENRY VI (1190–1197), son of Barbarossa.

(*a*) *Aims.*

(α) To make Empire hereditary in his own house; it was elective, and open to competition amongst (in theory) all the free-born males within its boundaries.

(β) To make Italy the centre of his Empire (cf. Otto III).

(γ) To conquer the East. Greeks were schismatics, and a crusade could be formed against them.

(*b*) *Papacy.*—Celestine III (1191–1198) forced to crown Henry. Papal support for his Eastern schemes.

(*c*) *Germany.* — Further troubles (Guelf *v.* Ghibelline) with Henry the Lion (died 1195) ended by a compromise. Henry's plan of making the Empire hereditary in his own family failed.

(*d*) *Third Crusade.*—Richard I of England a prisoner of Henry, who forced him to acknowledge England as a fief of the Empire.

(*e*) *Sicily* seized by Tancred of Lecce, who was supported by the Pope; death of Tancred, and subjugation of the kingdom by Henry.

(*f*) *Eastern Crusade* planned; Greek Emperor summoned to surrender part of his lands. First part of expedition sailed. But Henry died, and his scheme died with him.

(6) OTTO IV (1198–1215), son of Henry the Lion; and Philip of Suabia (1198–1208), son of Barbarossa.

(*a*) *Guelf* v. *Ghibelline.* — Prospect of victory of Philip, but he was assassinated; Otto IV left supreme.

(*b*) *Papacy.* — Otto, as a Guelf, supported by *Innocent III* (1198–1216), but soon they quarrelled (see *infra*).

(*c*) *England.*—Otto the ally of John of England against Philip II of France, who defeated them at Bouvines; defeat of John forced him to sign the Great Charter (1215).

[INNOCENT III, Pope 1198–1216.—One of the greatest popes. Aim to make the Papacy supreme over strong national states such as England and

France. A statesman rather than a saint.

(a) *The Empire.*—Supporter of Otto IV, in whose favour he claimed to settle the disputed election. Claim of Otto on Sicily and Naples, held by Frederick, young son of Henry VI, whose guardian Innocent was, was opposed by the Pope, who excommunicated Otto. Election of Frederick (1212) in place of Otto, whose fortunes were shattered at Bouvines, a great blow to the House of Guelf, and a triumph for Innocent III.

(b) *France.* — Innocent opposed marriage schemes of Philip II (Augustus), though risking French enmity. Interdict over France (1200–1). Final reconciliation of Innocent and Philip (1213).

(c) *Portugal, Aragon, and England* held as fiefs of the Papacy.

(d) Influence of Innocent extended even to Bulgaria, Hungary, Armenia, Poland, and Denmark. But popular feeling at times (as in England) turned against papal interference.

(e) *Crusades.*—Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) undertaken at instance of Innocent: Latin Empire of Constantinople established (1204–1261). Crusades also against the Moors of Spain, the heathen peoples on the Baltic, and the Albigeois (of Languedoc and Provence—first Crusade against a Christian, though heretical, people).

(f) *Monasticism.* — Innocent favoured St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi.

(g) *Fourth General Lateran Council* (1215).—Presided over by Innocent, and consisting of more than 400 bishops. Dealt with many matters of Church discipline, doctrine, &c.

1216—Death of Innocent III, at Perugia —"if not the greatest, the most powerful, of all the popes".]

(7) FREDERICK II (1212–1250), son of Henry VI; King of Sicily and Naples.

(a) *Fifth Crusade* (1228–1229). — Frederick under papal ban for not having undertaken a Crusade; crowned himself King of Jerusalem.

(b) *Papacy.*

(α) *Honorius III* (1216–1227).—Urged Frederick to fulfil his pledge that he would embark on a Crusade. Quarrel between Papacy and Empire unlikely during the pontificate of the mild Honorius III, in spite of provocation on Frederick's part.

(β) *Gregory IX* (1227–1241). — Ardent follower of Innocent III's ideas. Excommunicated Frederick for his tardiness in undertaking a Crusade; struggle between Empire and Papacy renewed. Departure of Frederick, and second excommunication for going without being reconciled to the Church. Truce of San Germano (1230). Renewal of quarrel (1239), due to Gregory's support of Lombard League; further excommunication of Frederick. Council at Rome summoned by Pope, but delegates captured by Frederick. Death of Gregory (1241).

(γ) *Innocent IV* (1243–1250).—Struggle continued. Council held at Lyons by the Pope declared deposition of Frederick from his Empire and his kingdoms (1245). Two anti-kings elected—Henry Raspe (1246–1247) and William of Holland (1247–1256); Germany in a condition of anarchy. Final defeat and death of Frederick (1250).

(c) *Germany and Lombardy.* — Revolt of Frederick's son Henry, in alliance with the Lombard cities; ruin and death of Henry (1235). Victories of Frederick over the Lombards (1235–1237).

(d) *German Civilization.*—Increase in commerce, literature, power of the towns, and study of law. But the absentee Emperor was responsible for nothing of this.

The reign of Frederick II marks the final triumph of the Papacy over the Empire; he was the greatest and most brilliant failure of the Middle Ages.

(8) CONRAD IV (1250–1254), son of Frederick II.—Papal hostility (shown in the attempt to conquer Sicily for Edmund, son of Henry III of England) and the presence of an anti-king in William of Holland, completed the ruin of the House of Hohenstaufen. Death of William of Holland in the year 1256.

V. Interregnum in Germany, 1256–1273.

Italy the scene of contests between Guelfs and Ghibellines, continuing till the end of the fourteenth century; Germany in a state of anarchy, Richard of Cornwall, son of John of England, being unable to make his authority as Emperor felt; and the Papacy vacant (with the Empire of course) from 1268–1271. "The great days of Papacy and Empire were plainly over." The hope of the future lay in the nationalities of France, England, and Spain; the separation of Germany and Italy into separate nationalities and the union of their discordant elements were not to be accomplished for another seven centuries.

VI. Kings and Emperors of various Houses, 1273–1347.—Aim of Emperors now to increase the authority of their Houses.

(1) RUDOLPH I, of Hapsburg (1273–1291), elected by a majority of the Electors (Archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne; Electors of the Palatinate and Brandenburg, the King of Bohemia and the Duke of Saxony—these fixed by the Golden Bull, 1356).

Struggle of Rudolph with Ottocar of Bohemia established the Hapsburg dynasty in Austria, the greatest achievement of Rudolph.

(2) ADOLF OF NASSAU (1292–1298).

(3) ALBERT I, OF AUSTRIA (1298–1308), son of Rudolph I.—Seized Bohemia and conferred it on his son, Rudolph, who, however, died (1307).

(4) HENRY VII, of Luxemburg (1308–1313).—Beginnings of rise of House of Luxemburg, holders of Imperial title from 1347 to 1437 (*q.v.*). Journey to Italy and alliance with the Ghibelline party to restore to the Empire its position in Italy. His son, John, became King of Bohemia, and fought at Creçy (1346), being killed; his emblem, and the motto, *Ich dien*, form the badge of the Princes of Wales.

1309—Everlasting League of Swiss Cantons confirmed in its dependence on the Empire solely.

(5) LOUIS OF BAVARIA (1314–1347), and FREDERICK OF AUSTRIA (1314–1330), son of Albert.—Disputed election, due to jealousy of Hapsburg influence. Papal claim to settle the dispute—*renewal of quarrel between Empire and Papacy*. And Church weakened now by:—

(*a*) Foundation of Franciscan Order.

(*b*) "Babylonish Captivity" of Papacy (1309–1377)—residence of Popes at Avignon, resulting in national resentment in Germany.

Yet Louis failed in the struggle, partly because of his aim to increase the power of his family. Election of Charles, son of John of Bohemia.

VII. Luxemburg Emperors, 1347–1437.

(1) CHARLES IV (1347–1378), King of Bohemia ("Bohemia's father; the Holy Roman Empire's arch-stepfather"). Aim to establish his authority in Germany.

(*a*) *Bohemia.*—Wise government. University of Prague founded (1348), first university in Germany; Archbishopric of Prague formed; commerce fostered, buildings erected, coinage reformed, &c.

(*b*) *Italy.*—Charles crowned at Rome, but refused to interfere in Italian politics, as it was his aim to organize Germany.

(*c*) *Germany.*—Chief dangers were:—

(*α*) Disputed elections to Empire, owing to subdivision of lands of electors, and consequent uncertainty as to holders of electoral functions.

(*β*) Entire want of political unity in a land consisting of a collection of domains held loosely together under the Empire.

Golden Bull (1356)—

(*α*) Seven electors (see *supra*)—three ecclesiastical and four secular; latter to hold household offices—King of Bohemia, cupbearer; Count Palatine, grand seneschal; Duke of Saxony, grand marshal; Margrave of Brandenburg, grand chamberlain.

(*β*) Election to take place at Frankfort; coronation at Aachen; first Diet at Nürnberg.

(*γ*) Electoral territories not to be divided.

Papal claim to decide in cases of disputed election passed over; elections to Empire in future the concern only of the German nation. The Emperors from this time forward (except Sigismund and Frederick III) were not crowned at Rome.

Results of Golden Bull—

(*α*) Aristocratic constitution set up which persisted in Germany.

(*β*) Perpetuation of powers of electors, who became the most important princes in Germany, and whose lands could not be divided.

(*d*) *Great Schism in the Papacy* (1378–1417).—See *infra*. Same period one of schisms in the Empire.

Charles divided his lands among his sons.

(2) WENCESLAS (1378–1400), son of Charles. Beginning of period of confusion. Emperors had to face the Great Schism, the growth of the towns (see *infra*, account of Hanseatic League), and the hostility of the nobles. Wenceslas deposed—Schism in Empire also.

(3) RUPERT, Count Palatine (1400–1410)—invaded Bohemia, but was driven out by Sigismund, brother of Wenceslas.

1409—University of Leipzig founded (see *infra*, Hussite Movement) by students from Prague, who left there because of the Hussite troubles.

1409—Council of Pisa convened to attempt to end the schism in the Church.

(4) SIGISMUND (1410–1437), brother of Wenceslas. Jobst of Moravia elected by Sigismund's enemies; death of Jobst (1411).

(*a*) *Council of Constance* (1414–1418).—See *infra*.

(*b*) *Hussite War* (1419–1436).—See *infra*.

(*c*) *Council of Basel* (1431–1449).—See *infra*.

1436 — Sigismund acknowledged King of Bohemia. Death of Sigismund opened up the questions of the succession to Hungary and Bohemia.

VIII. Hapsburg Emperors, 1437–1740.—Until 1806, with one short break, the Hapsburgs held the Imperial crown.

(1) ALBERT II (1438–1439), son-in-law of Sigismund. King of Hungary and Bohemia also.

(2) FREDERICK III (1440–1493), cousin of Albert II, last emperor to be crowned in Rome. House of Hapsburg made during his reign much more powerful than it was at the commencement.

(*a*) *Civil War in Switzerland.*—Zürich *v.* confederates, headed by Schwyz (hence, "Switzerland"). Former appealed to Frederick, who employed French troops against the confederates at St. Jacob, the "German Thermopylæ", where 1600 Swiss were annihilated.

(*b*) *Bohemia and Hungary.*—Native rulers elected and recognized by Frederick—Ladislas Postumus (a minor) in Hungary (governor, John Huniades), and afterwards (1458) Matthias Corvinus; and George Podiebrad (governor) in Bohemia. Death of Corvinus (1490) without an heir; Ladislas became King of Bohemia also. Treaty with Ladislas (1492), by which his territories were to pass to the Hapsburgs on the extinction of his male line.

(*c*) *Marriage of Maximilian*, son of Frederick, with Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

Mystic sign of Frederick consisted of the five vowels—AEIOU. (Latin: *Austriæ est imperare orbi universo*; German: *Alles Erdreich ist Œsterreich unterthan.*)

In the Empire, therefore, the Middle Ages closes with the establishment of the Hapsburg dynasty on the throne, with much real power. It is now our task to trace the growth of the French Kingdom from the ruins of the West Frankish State and the intermixture of the Northmen.

E. FALL OF THE WEST FRANKISH KINGDOM

COMING OF THE NORTHMEN, AND GROWTH OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY, 843–1498

To trace the growth of the French monarchy it is convenient to begin with the Treaty of Verdun (843).

I. Carolingian Kings of the West Franks, 843–987.

(1) CHARLES THE BALD (843–877), son of Louis the Pious. "First King of France."

(*a*) *Invasions of Northmen* (see *infra*), who sacked Paris (845). Charles endeavoured to buy them off with money (cf. Danegeld in England).

(*b*) *Charles and the Empire.*—Wars with his kinsmen to gain their lands. Became Emperor 875.

(2) LOUIS THE STAMMERER (877–879), son of Charles the Bald. Made no claim to the Empire.

(3) LOUIS (879–882) and CARLOMAN (Karlmann) (879–884), sons of Louis the Stammerer. Both crowned, the one to reign in the north, and the other to reign in the south. Sole rule of Carloman after 882. Continued ravages of Northmen. Revolt of Arles (Lower Burgundy, valley of Rhone); Boso made King of Arles.

(4) CHARLES THE FAT (884–887), of Germany, Emperor (881) over the whole Empire. Further attacks on Paris by the Northmen; defence by Eudes (Odo), count of Paris (885–886). Northmen bribed by Emperor, who was forced to abdicate. Final break-up of Empire; succession of "Phantom Emperors" (see *supra*) in Italy.

(5) ODO (888–898), count of Paris, elected over the head of Charles (the Simple), son of Louis the Stammerer, a boy of eight. Odo but the equal of other great nobles in France, who ruled, with hereditary succession, over Toulouse, Flanders, Poitou, Anjou, Gas-

cony, Auvergne, and Burgundy. Struggles with Northmen.

(6) CHARLES THE SIMPLE (893–929), elected by a section of the nobles before death of Odo. Civil war till death of Odo.

(*a*) *Northmen.*—Ceaseless raids. Finally (911), same step taken as in England by Alfred—"Danelaw" (though this name was not given to it in France), consisting of part of Northern France, granted to Hrolf (Rollo) "the Ganger", war-lord of the Northmen, on condition of homage to the King of France. Thus, foundation of *Duchy of Normandy.*

(*b*) *Civil War.*—Deposition of Charles plotted by Robert of France, brother of Odo, and Rudolph of Burgundy. Robert slain at Soissons (923). Starvation of Charles (929).

(7) RUDOLPH OF BURGUNDY (929–936). —Power small, on account of powerful nobles.

(8) LOUIS D'OUTREMER (936–954), son of Charles the Simple; recalled from "beyond the sea" ("Outremer"), where he had been living at the court of Athelstan of England. Supremacy of *Hugh the Great*, son of Robert of France (see *supra*), till his death in 956. He was permanent adviser to the King, and laid the foundation of the future succession to the crown of his son, Hugh Capet, who succeeded to his position (954), and finally (987) became King. (Cf. rise of the House of Arnulf and Pepin.)

(9) LOTHAIR (954–986), son of Louis d'Outremer—chosen by the influence of Hugh Capet.

(10) LOUIS LE FAINÉANT (986–987), son of Lothair. The last of the direct line of Charles the Great.

[The Northmen, of whom some account may be given here.

(1) Belonged, with the Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, the Angles and the Saxons, to the Teutonic branch of the Aryan race. Lived during ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, as part of the Scandinavian people. Most powerful under Canute, King of England also (died 1035).

(2) INVASIONS—divided into periods of plunder, settlement, and conquest. Caused partly by the Christianizing of Saxony and Frisia, which were near their borders. Main directions taken by them were two:—(*a*) North Sea (England and Empire); (*b*) Ireland and W. England.

(*a*) *England.*—Earliest trace of them about 789. Periods:—

(α) 789–855—plunder. Raids on Northumbria (attacks on monasteries, such as Lindisfarne, Jarrow, and Tynemouth), Mercia, and East Anglia. First wintering, in Sheppey, 855.

(β) 855–1016—settlement. Struggles of Alfred and his successors with a people firmly established in the Danelaw.

(γ) 1016–1042—conquest. Danish Kings of England—Canute and his sons.

(*b*) *Ireland.*—Chief sufferer in early raids, owing to absence of unity and protection. Norse Kingdom in North Ireland (843–845), and establishment of Viking strongholds at Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, and Limerick.

(*c*) *The Empire.*—Continuous incursions by way of the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Seine.

(α) *Germany.*—Hamburg burnt (845); Saxony plundered (851); great invasion of 880; Aachen sacked (882); final defeat of Northmen at Louvain (891).

(β) *France.*—Paris and Bordeaux sacked (843); bribery of Northmen by Charles the Bald (852); invasion of Central France from the Loire (864); defeat at Saucourt (881); great siege of Paris and defence by Odo (885–886; see *supra*); establishment of Duchy of Normandy (911), and beginning of a new period in the history of Northern France.]

II. Capetian Kings of France, 987–1328.

The process which the accession of the first Capetian King began was one which ended in the establishment of the French monarchy and nation. Only the germs of the growth were present in 987, for the power of the semi-independent dukes and counts was so great that France might easily have split up into several parts. But the Capetian monarchy proved superior to the forces making for disintegration; and modern France resulted.

(1) FIRST FOUR CAPETIANS.—Hugh (987–996); Robert the Pious, son of Hugh (996–1031); Henry I, son of Robert (1031–1060); and Philip I, son of Henry (1060–1108). Crown now

virtually hereditary. Chief event of these reigns was the conquest of England by William, Duke of Normandy, who did so much for the development of Feudalism in England, a system which is worthy of some attention.

(2) FEUDALISM—the social system of Europe for several centuries. Only the essential features can be described here.

(a) *A System of Landholding.*—The King the supreme landholder; all land held from him by tenants-in-chief, who granted portions to their tenants, and so on.

(b) *Relation between Lord and Vassal.*—Military service expected by the lord from the vassal, who when he received his land swore to become the "man" of his lord and to provide a stipulated number of soldiers (in the case of a tenant-in-chief) in time of war. Whereas on the Continent a vassal became the "man" only of his immediate overlord, in England after the Norman Conquest each sub-tenant, of whatever degree, took the oath to the King himself.

(c) *The Feudal Incidents.*—Payments due from vassal to lord on certain occasions.

(α) *Relief.*—A sum payable to the lord on the vassal's succession to the land.

(β) *Aid.*—Payable on the knighting of the lord's eldest son, the marriage of his eldest daughter, and on any occasion for the lord's ransom from captivity.

(γ) *Wardship.*—During the minority of the holder of land the immediate overlord took the proceeds of the land, together with the relief when the holder attained his majority; also the overlord exacted a payment from the successful suitor of an heiress in his wardship.

(δ) *Forfeiture.*—In case of failure on the part of a vassal to perform any of his feudal duties the land reverted to his lord.

The system was at its height during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but it decayed before the growth of the towns, the extension of commerce, the growth of the monarchy, the jealousy of the barons, and the use of gunpowder.

(3) THE GREAT FRENCH FIEFS.—The key to much of the history of France. Semi-independent feudal districts (cf. Normandy under Duke William), each with a individuality of its own, which long after the emergence of nationality. The chief were:—

(a) *Normandy.*—Foundation by Rolf (Rollo) the Ganger, 911. The Normans an active race, who soon found Normandy too small for them; result was Norman Conquest of England (began 1066) and Norman lordship in Italy and Sicily (eleventh century). In their day the Normans were the leaders of Europe.

(b) *Brittany.*—A Celtic state, one of the refuges of the Britons on the coming of the English tribes to Britain. Overlordship claimed by Rollo the Ganger; but Celtic reaction set in under Alan of the Twisted Beard (died 952).

(c) *Flanders.*—Invaded by Normans; two districts—north (Dutch tongue) and south (French). Freedom gained under the Counts Baldwin, under one of whom, Baldwin V (died 1067; father-in-law of William the Conqueror), the Flemish towns began to be prosperous.

(d) *Vermandois.*—Capital, St. Quentin. Hugh the Great (went on First Crusade), brother of King Philip I, established a Capetian line of Counts of Vermandois.

(e) *Champagne.*—Under the counts of Troyes in tenth century; power of bishops (Rheims, Châlons, Troyes) great.

(f) *Blois.*—Count Stephen, one of the heroes of the First Crusade; his son, Stephen, became King of England. Blois united for a time to Champagne.

(g) *Anjou.*—Count Geoffrey was founder of the House of Plantagenet, which in the person of Henry II gained possession of the English crown.

(h) *Burgundy* (west of Saône. about Dijon).—Originally Capetian possession; in eleventh century became hereditary in a younger branch of the family.

(i) *Aquitaine and Poitou.*—United in the tenth century, but different in many ways, Poitou dividing Northern France (dialect "langue d'œil") from Southern France (dialect "langue d'oc"). *Gascony* incorporated in eleventh century.

(j) *Toulouse.*—The district of the pure "langue d'oc", the Romance language of Southern France, the first Romance tongue to have a literature of its own. Toulouse thus a separate district from the rest of France, even from Aquitaine, where the "langue d'oc" was impure through contact with the "langue d'œil".

A mere enumeration of the separate elements which then composed France—no mere list of English shires and counties gives the same idea—is enough to show the difficulties in the way of unification. In all their diversity, and as a result of it, they produced the different types of French character which for so long held the leadership of Europe in their grasp. While the kings of Germany were pursuing a brilliant

phantom, their neighbours in France were consolidating their power so that in 1214 the forces of Philip Augustus (Philip II) triumphed over the united forces of John of England and the Emperor Otto IV at Bouvines.

(4) THE CAPETIAN STRUGGLE WITH FEUDALISM, ending in the establishment of the royal power (1108–1328).

(*a*) *Louis VI* (1108–1137).

(α) Conquest of the Capetian domain, which had fallen under the control of lesser feudal barons; roads between the royal towns, such as Paris, Orléans, Beauvais, Sens, Mantes, &c., kept open.

(β) Marriage of Louis (son of Louis VI, afterwards Louis VII) with Eleanor, heiress of Poitou, Guienne, and Gascony.

(γ) Louis VI and Henry I of England—rivalry; Louis supported William Clito, son of Robert of Normandy (brother of Henry I, whom Henry had defeated at Tinchebrai, 1106, and imprisoned in Cardiff Castle), in his claims on Normandy. Marriage of Matilda, daughter of Henry I, to Geoffrey of Anjou—way paved for Angevin Empire of their son, afterwards Henry II of England.

(δ) Growth of the towns (communal movement); alliance begun between crown and towns against feudal barons.

(*b*) *Louis VII* (1137–1180).

(α) Second Crusade (1147–1150)—Louis a Crusader; disastrous ending to Christian efforts.

(β) Divorce of his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine (1152). Separation of her domains from the crown. Marriage of Eleanor with Henry II of England, and consequent union of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Aquitaine. Further progress of Henry in France, by the marriages of his sons with French heiresses, and by his enforcing his claims to the overlordship of Brittany and Toulouse.

(γ) Help given by Louis to Henry's sons in their revolts against their father (1173–1174). Louis had managed to break the unity of the Angevin power.

(*c*) *Philip Augustus, Philip II* (1180–1223).—One of the ablest of all the French kings; he made much progress against the Angevin power, and centralized the monarchy.

(α) Vermandois added to royal domain (1185).

(β) Third Crusade (1189–1192).—Quarrels between Philip and Richard Cœur de Lion, who had succeeded to the Angevin empire of his father Henry II.

(γ) Quarrel with John of England, who had offended the Poitevin barons who appealed to Philip. Further quarrels, due to John's treatment of Arthur. Conquest by Philip of Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou (1203–1204); possession of these districts, and of Maine and Touraine, assured to Philip by victory of Bouvines (1214). Henceforward, separate careers lay before England and France, and the antagonism between them increased.

(δ) Development of the South of France (the Languedoc) as shown by the heresy of the Albigeois (see Innocent III) and the activity of the Troubadours. Temporary submission of Raymond of Toulouse after the Albigensian Crusade by the Pope (1209); further revolt of Raymond against the Pope and succession of Simon de Montfort as Count of Toulouse.

(ε) Privileges granted to cities (especially Paris) by Philip; walls built; trade encouraged. Paris became capital of a centralized France.

At the end of his reign Philip left France centralized and strong, and the monarchy the greatest power in the state. The great fiefs had been subdued.

(*d*) *Louis VIII* (1223–1226).—Revival of Albigensian Crusade.

(*e*) *Louis IX* (1226–1270), St. Louis.—A minor till 1235. Had to face a new danger in the holding of Artois, Poitou, Anjou, and Maine by his brothers, in accordance with the terms of his father's will.

(α) Revolt of the baronage against the regency of Blanche of Castile, mother of the king; triumph of the monarchy.

(β) Louis IX and Henry III of England.—Claims of Henry on Poitou enforced, but defeated; Henry gave up his designs on Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou in exchange for Gascony and Guienne, which had been ruled by Simon de Montfort (the younger).

(γ) Addition of Toulouse, Blois, and other smaller districts to the royal domain.

(δ) Administrative system, founded by Philip II, enlarged and centralized.

(ε) Seventh Crusade (1270).—Death of Louis at Tunis. He had been on the Sixth Crusade (1248–1254), and had been captured in Egypt with his whole army.

At his death Louis was the greatest prince in Europe, and had mediated in the quarrel between Henry III of England and his barons. The Empire was nearing the

end of the great Interregnum (1256–1273), and England was ruled by the weak Henry III (1216–1272). Such was the position into which the Capetian monarchs had raised France in less than three centuries.

(*f*) *Philip III* (1270–1285).—Marriage of his son, afterwards Philip IV, to Jeanne, daughter and heiress of Henry, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne. These districts were added to the French crown, as was also (1271) Provence.

(*g*) *Philip IV*, "the Fair" (1285–1314).

(α) Philip IV and Edward I of England. —Edward summoned as a vassal before Philip to answer for his government of Gascony and Guienne, which Philip seized. War 1294–1297. Quarrel ended by marriage of Margaret, sister of Philip, to Edward, and betrothal of Edward, Prince of Wales, to Isabella, daughter of Philip.

(β) Flanders (ally of Edward I in the war) seized by Philip. French defeated by Flemish in Battle of Spurs (1302), fought at Courtrai; victory of infantry against mounted men-at-arms. Failure of Philip to obtain Flanders.

(γ) Lyons (part of Burgundy) became French (1312).

(δ) Home Government. — Parliament (Law-court) of Paris and States-General both called into existence in 1302. Steady encroachments on feudal independence in favour of the monarchy.

(ε) Disgraceful suppression of the Knights Templars by Philip on the plea of heresy and corruption (1312).

(ζ) Removal of Papal residence to Avignon (1309).

(*h*) *Louis X* (1314–1316).—During the next two reigns, establishment of *Salic Law*, which excluded females from any claims on the succession in France.

(*i*) *Philip V* (1316–1322).—Brother of Louis X. First doubtful Capetian succession. Philip succeeded in preference to the daughter of Louis X, by virtue of the law of the Salian Franks, which ran:—"No portion of Salian land shall pass to a woman; one of the male sex shall acquire it". This rule was now arbitrarily applied to the crown, and the precedent thus set was afterwards followed (1322 and 1328 for example).

(*j*) *Charles IV* (1322–1328).—Brother of Philip V; succeeded to the exclusion of the daughters of Philip V. With the death of Charles IV the male line of the Capetians came to an end. Two possible claimants —Philip of Burgundy, and Edward III of England (mother Isabella was daughter of Philip IV and sister of the last three Kings of France)—were passed over by the Salic Law, and Philip of Valois, Philip VI, cousin of Charles IV and his brothers, succeeded.

III. House of Valois, 1328–1589.

(1) The Hundred Years' War, 1339–1453.

(*a*) *Causes:*—

(α) Claim of Edward III to throne of France.

(β) Alliance between France and Scotland during English attempted conquest of Scotland.

(γ) Alliance between England and Flanders. England the chief customer of the Flemish looms at Ghent and Ypres, sending wool to be woven into cloth. Citizens of West Flanders revolted against the Count of Flanders, the vassal of the French king; they were punished, and all Englishmen in Flanders were seized by order of Philip VI. Edward III replied by prohibiting trade between England and Flanders. Alliance between Ghent (under Jacob van Artevelde) and Edward, on condition that Edward declared himself King of France.

(*b*) *First Phase.*—English fortunes culminating in Bretigny (1360). Victories of Creçy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), insurrection in Paris (led by Etienne Marcel, 1357–1358), and the Jacquerie (peasant war, so called from Jacques Bonhomme, a name applied to French peasants), contributed to the triumph of the English in the treaty of Bretigny (1360), by which Edward received Poitou, Guienne, and Gascony in full sovereignty, but resigned all claims on the French crown.

[In the meantime, Philip VI (1328–1350) had been succeeded by John ("the Good", 1350–1364), captured at Poitiers; and the Black Death (1347–1349) had devastated Europe.

1349—Dauphiné (part of Burgundy) handed over to the crown; it became the appanage of the heir to the crown (hence, "Dauphin").

1363—royal occupation of Lower, or Northern, Burgundy; duchy given to John's son, Philip the Bold, founder of the line of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy.

1364–1380—reign of Charles V. Chief task to restore the royal power, which he did by a system of absolutism. War in Castile between Peter the Cruel (supported by the Black Prince, ruler of Aquitaine) and Henry of Trastamare (supported by France—Bertrand du Guesclin). Defeat of Henry at

Navarete (1367), but murder of Peter (1369).]

Hundred Years' War renewed, on pretext of discontent in Aquitaine due to taxes levied by Black Prince. Disasters to English (death of Black Prince, 1376), and loss of all territories in France except Calais and the strip of coast from Bordeaux to Bayonne. Death of Edward III of England (1377), and accession of Richard II, a child. End of first phase of war.

(*c*) *Second Phase.*—English fortunes culminating in Troyes (1420). The period of Burgundian *v.* Armagnac. Charles VI (1380–1422), a boy in 1380, King of France. Rivalry of his uncles, the Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, Berry, and Bourbon—royal dukes, but of selfish instincts. Final struggle of feudalism—similar struggles in progress in England, Flanders, and Germany.

(α) Burgundian *v.* Armagnac—regency seized (1392—madness of King) by dukes of Burgundy and Berry, to the exclusion of the King's brother, the Duke of Orléans (cf. causes of English Wars of the Roses). Philip of Burgundy had married Margaret of Flanders, and thus Burgundy and Flanders became united (first signs of unity of Low Countries). Philip succeeded by his son, John (1404). Murder of the Duke of Orléans (1407) at the instigation of John of Burgundy; leadership passed to Bernard of Armagnac, father-in-law of the young Charles of Orléans. Civil War in France, to which was added foreign war and an invasion in 1415. Orléanists, or Armagnacs, the party of reaction; Burgundians forced therefore to be the party of progress, financial economy, and municipal liberty. West and south (Celtic inhabitants) were Armagnac; east and north (Teutonic inhabitants) were Burgundian. Yet at bottom the quarrel was a personal one, and the principles of the parties are only indicated generally.

(β) Invasion of France by Henry V of England (1415), to prosecute his claim to the crown of France. Fall of Harfleur, battle of Agincourt (1415), and fall of Rouen (1419). Truce between the French parties ended by murder of John of Burgundy (1419) at Montereau by the followers of the dauphin. Treaty of Troyes (1420)—Henry V to be regent of France, to marry Katharine, daughter of Charles VI, and to be heir to the crown. Only a treaty with a faction; further struggles with the Armagnacs. Deaths of Henry V and Charles VI (1422).

(γ) Henry VI of England (1422–1461) *v.* Charles VII of France (1422–1461) — recognized in north and south respectively. Alliance of Bedford (English regent in France) with Burgundy. Siege of Orléans (1428), the key to Southern France; appearance of Jeanne D'Arc ("Joan of Arc", "La Pucelle"). Successes of French; coronation of Charles VII at Rheims. Capture and burning of Jeanne (1431). Death of Bedford (1435) and English recognition of Charles on certain terms. Creation of a standing army in France (1439). Gradual loss of all English territories in France except Calais. End of war (1453) and beginning of Wars of Roses in England (1455–1485).

(2) LOUIS XI (1461–1483)—foundation of absolute monarchy laid; struggle with Burgundy. (Louis one of the characters in Scott's *Quentin Durward.*)

(*a*) *League of the Public Weal.*—Conspiracy of several dukes against Louis; ended by the treaty of Conflans (1464), which Louis never carried out.

(*b*) *Wars with Burgundy.*—Accession of Charles the Bold to the duchy (1464–1477). Charles's policy:—"Instead of one King of France I would like to see six". He aimed at independence. Marriage of Charles to Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV of England.

(α) Interview between Charles and Louis at Péronne; danger to Louis when news arrived of a revolt of the Liégeois encouraged by him.

(β) War between France and Burgundy (1470–1472).

(γ) Invasion of France by Edward IV in alliance with Burgundy (1475); peace signed at Pecquigny.

(δ) Wars of Charles with the Emperor (designs on Alsace) and the Swiss; battle of Nancy with Swiss (1477); Charles slain.

1477—Seizure of Burgundy by Louis.

1477—Marriage of Maximilian, son of Frederick III, with Mary, heiress of Charles the Bold. Struggle between Maximilian and Louis for Burgundy.

1482—Death of Mary; agreement that the dauphin, Charles, should marry Margaret, daughter of Maximilian and Mary.

(*c*) *Other Acquisitions and Achievements of Louis XI.*—Anjou, Maine, and Provence became royal domains; and the feudal nobles were kept in check.

(3) CHARLES VIII (1483–1498)—a minor; regency of his sister, Anne of Beaujeu.

(*a*) *Brittany.*—Marriage of Charles to Anne of Brittany.

(*b*) *Naples.*—Charles invited (1492) to claim

the crown of Naples; beginning of French conquests (see *infra*, Modern History Summary).

F. SPAIN

FROM THE TIME OF THE VISIGOTHS TO THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA—415–1492

Spain a Celtic Roman province, one of the parts of the Empire which became thoroughly Romanized. Many Latin writers were of Spanish birth. Visigoths established themselves in Northern Spain and Southern Gaul.

I. Visigothic Kingdom in Spain, 415–711.—Capital first Tolosa (Toulouse) and then Toledo.

(1) *Visigoths driven from Gaul* (507) by Clovis (King of the Franks, see *supra*), who made the war a religious war, the Goths being Arians. Alaric II, King of the Visigoths, slain. Further attacks by the Franks, and death of King Amalaric in battle (531). Royal house extinct.

(2) *Weakness of the Kingdom.*—Of twenty-three kings from 531 to 711, nine were deposed, seven of whom were murdered. This due to the extinction of the royal house and consequent struggles of the chief nobles for the throne. And the Visigoths were a military race, not very numerous, amongst an oppressed people. Thus, constant wars, due to revolts, civil strife, Frankish invasions, or struggles with the Eastern Empire.

(3) *Conversion of the Goths to Christianity* (586–588) under Reccared.

(4) *Advance of the Saracens* (Moors, or Arabs; see *infra*, in account of Mohammedanism).—Caliphs (successors of Mohammed) conquered Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Northern Africa. From Northern Africa it was an easy step into Spain. Landing at Gibraltar under Tarik (hence "Jeb-el-Tarik"—"rock of Tarik"). Battle of the Guadalete (on plains of Guadalquivir)—Saracen victory (711); last Visigothic King drowned or slain. Complete conquest (except of north-west) by 713.

II. The Moors in Spain, 711–1492.—Centre of Moorish rule was Cordova.

(1) *Kingdom of the Asturias* in the north-west; refuge of the last of the Visigoths under Pelagius. Independence maintained under their kings, several of whom were called Hildefuns (modern "Alfonso"). Gradual progress of Christians southward—foundation of marchlands of Castile and northern Portugal, and of Navarre (ninth century).

(2) *Division of the Saracen Empire* into Eastern and Western Caliphates. Spain became the Western Caliphate; capital, Cordova. First Caliph in Spain, Abderrahman the Ommiade, who escaped to Spain when the Abbassides drove out the Ommiades.

(3) *The Moors and the Franks* (see *supra*).—Invasion of Gaul by Abderrahman; victory of Charles Martel (732) near Poitiers. Frankish conquest, under Charles the Great, of the Valley of the Ebro; Barcelona and towns north of it won for Christendom (nucleus of Kingdom of Aragon).

(4) *Rise of the Christian States*—due to the fall of the Ommiade dynasty and the dissolution of the Moorish Kingdom into a number of smaller states (about 1030). Help sought from Moors in Africa.

(*a*) *Leon*—the new name of Asturias, called after the new capital.

(*b*) *Castile*, so called from defensive castles erected against the Arabs. Union of Leon and Castile under Ferdinand I (about 1050); conquest of Toledo by Alfonso of Leon-Castile (1085), whose general, Rodrigo Diaz, the Cid Campeador ("the Cid", i.e. "Lord"), conquered Valencia.

(*c*) *Navarre.*—Epoch of greatness under Sancho III (1000–1035); leadership of Spain passed then to Leon-Castile.

(*d*) *Aragon*—powerful under Alfonso I, founder of Aragonese greatness.

(*e*) *Portugal.*—Kingdom founded independent of Leon by Alfonso I (1140).

(5) *Union of Spain*—process not complete till 1471 and 1492. Moors confined after 1238 to Kingdom of Granada.

(*a*) *Leadership of Castile and Aragon.*—Castile finally united with Leon in 1230; Aragon united with Catalonia in 1137. Navarre (part of France by marriage of Blanche with Philip IV, 1285–1314) became Aragonese, and finally Spanish (south of Pyrenees) and French (north of Pyrenees).

(*b*) *Portugal*—independent. Voyages and discoveries under Henry the Navigator (1394–1460).

(*c*) *Union of Castile and Aragon* (1471) by marriage of Ferdinand the Catholic, of Aragon (reigned 1479–1516), with Isabella of Castile.

Thus, by 1471, two Christian Kingdoms, Spain and Portugal, and one Moorish Kingdom, Granada.

(6) *Conquest of Granada* (1481–1491), last Moorish stronghold. Saracen culture had reached a high stage of development:—

(*a*) *Learning.*—Words like "algebra", "alchemy", "alcohol", "zenith", are Arabic, and testify to the Saracen zeal for sciences such as mathematics, chemistry, and astronomy. Saracen observatories were the first in Europe.

(*b*) *Architecture.*—Chief building, the Alhambra ("red castle"), at Granada, now in ruins, which testifies to the Saracen ability in this branch of art.

Modern History thus opens with the beginnings of the new state of Spain.

G. THE EASTERN (BYZANTINE) EMPIRE

TO ITS FALL IN 1453

We have seen (Ancient History Summary, end of Vol. I) how the Roman Empire was divided by Diocletian, how Constantine made Byzantium (called after him "Constantinople") the capital of the Empire, how Valentinian made his brother, Valens, Emperor of the Eastern Empire and thus called into existence a twofold division of the Empire, and how Odoacer became ruler of Italy on the extinction of the Western line. Until the year 800, then, the Eastern line was the sole representative of Imperial rule. We have now to follow its fortunes till its fall, in 1453, before the Turkish advance.

I. The Eastern Empire and the Barbarians.—Successful defence against the Goths. Constantinople was impregnable on the land side, and the Emperors were capable men. East saved from danger of Gothic conquest. Zeno (475–491) and his successors made the realm strong, and handed on to Justinian a fairly united state.

II. Justinian (527–565).—Byzantine Empire at its highest point, though Justinian left it weaker than it was at the commencement of his reign.

(1) *Conquests of Justinian*—chief generals Belisarius (husband of Antonina, friend of Empress Theodora; cf. Marlborough) and Narses. Vandal Kingdom in Africa (429–534) destroyed by Belisarius; conquest of Sicily by the same general (535); campaigns of Belisarius in Italy ended by his recall owing to the jealousy of Justinian; overthrow (554) of Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy (493–554); conquests in Southern Spain from the Visigoths; disastrous wars with Persia.

(2) *The Nika Sedition* (532)—due to taxation for Persian war. Blues *v.* Greens. Latter proclaimed Hypatius Emperor. Final triumph of Justinian; slaughter of rebels by Belisarius.

(3) *Justinian as builder.*—Chief monument is the Mosque of S. Sophia, which cost several million pounds; rebuilding of Constantinople after Nika sedition; forts, churches, aqueducts, hospitals, and monasteries built all over the empire.

(4) *Legal Reforms.*—Codification of Roman Law, which up to then consisted of imperial edicts and legal decisions. Both elements confused and chaotic. Three main orderly divisions after the codification of Justinian:—(*a*) Code—imperial edicts; (*b*) Digest or Pandects—legal decisions; (*c*) Institutes—commentary on the principles of Roman Law. This collection proved to be the foundation of modern European jurisprudence.

III. Justinian's Successors (565–610).—Decline of the Empire. Frontier wars with the Avars (lower Danube) and the Persians (war 572–591 and 603–610). Lombard conquest of Italy (Kingdom 568–774). Rebellion of the elder Heraclius, exarch of Africa (610)—command given to his son, Heraclius, to whom the crown was offered.

IV. Heraclius (610–641).—End of the period of greatness. Struggles with Persia and Mohammedanism.

(1) *Persia* (613).—Claim of Chosroes, King of Persia, to be overlord of the Empire. War from 613 to 628. At first, Persian successes, but finally,

Persian failure at Constantinople and defeat at Nineveh.

(2) *Mohammedanism* (see *infra*).—Onward march of Mohammedanism after death of its founder (632). Eastern and Persian empires unfitted for resistance after devastating wars. Defeat of the Eastern forces; capture of Damascus and Jerusalem by Islam (635 and 637). Saracen conquest of Egypt (640), only Alexandria holding out. Heraclius remembered "rather as the loser of Jerusalem and Antioch than as the saviour of Constantinople".

V. Struggle with the Saracens.—Successful defence of Constantinople in 673 by Constantine IV, and in 718 by Leo the Isaurian. Latter repulse of Saracens took place at a time when no other power in the East could have stayed the progress of Islam. Success of Constantine Copronymus (740–775) against the Saracens, but defeat of Theophilus (829–842).

VI. Struggle with the Seljuk Turks.

(1) Turkish (Mongol) tribes of Central Asia of same stock as Huns, Magyars, and Bulgarians. Attacks on Caliphate of Baghdad (Moorish dominion in Asia), and establishment on eastern frontiers of Empire. Turkish states founded on ruins of Caliphate. Conversion of Turks to Islam.

(2) *Attacks on Eastern Empire.*—First formidable in reign of Constantine X (1059–1067). Imperial appeals to Pope Urban II for help against Turks (1095); result was Crusades, which occupied the energies of the Seljuk Turks.

VII. Struggle with the Ottoman Turks.

(1) Rise of Ottoman Turks on decline of Seljuk Turks (end of thirteenth century). First leader was Othman, or Osman, from whom they were called.

(2) Advance of Ottoman Turks into Europe (about 1350). Weakness of Empire, due to disputed successions and incompetent rulers. First Turkish siege of Constantinople (1402). Capture of Constantinople (1453), followed by conquest of Servia, Walachia, Bosnia, Greece, and Asia Minor. End of Eastern Empire.

VIII. Religious Troubles under the Empire.—Decay of arts and letters in Eastern Empire resulted in growth of superstition and ignorance.

(1) *Iconoclasm* v. *Iconoduly*—image-breaking *v.* image-worship. Image-worshippers attributed miraculous powers to pictures or sculptures of Our Lord and the Saints. Moslems sneered at Christian worship as the worship of idols, and this made the image-breakers more fanatical in their zeal to destroy images. First Iconoclast crusade in 726, during reign of Leo the Isaurian (717–740). Restoration of image-worship, 785 (during reign of Constantine VI, 780–797), owing to influence of Irene, mother of Constantine (Empress 797–802). Continuation of struggle between Iconoclasm and Iconoduly under Leo V (813–820), an Iconoclast. Restoration of Iconoduly by Theodora, regent for Michael III (842–867).

(2) *Schism of Eastern and Western Churches*, of Constantinople and Rome, final in 1053.

(3) *Fourth Crusade* (1202–1204).—Directed originally against Egypt, but diverted against Constantinople, which was taken (1203). Murder of Emperor Alexius V (1204) and establishment of Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261); first Emperor Baldwin of Flanders (1204–5). Revival of Greek Empire (1261) in the person of Michael VIII, the first of the Palæologi (1261–1282).

H. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MOHAMMEDANISM,

THE CRUSADES, AND THE ADVANCE OF THE TURKS

The struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity, both eastern in origin, but the one established in Europe before the other came into being, was a phase of the rivalry between East and West. Politically, Mohammedanism was represented by the Moors and the Turks, and its influence in Europe has been confined to those peoples. The struggle between the two religions took three forms:—(1) the attempt of the Moors to extend their dominion to the north of the Py-

renees (defeated 732 by Charles Martel); (2) the Crusades, which absorbed the energies of the Seljuk Turks and contributed to their downfall; (3) the attacks on the Eastern Empire by the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks, already described.

I. Mohammedanism. — A brief summary of some of its features.

(1) MOHAMMED (570-632)—preached to the wild, mountainous people of Arabia, of different religious beliefs (some heathen, some Christian, some Judaistic), the existence of one true God, Allah, and the duty of brotherly love. Non-success at first, followed by "Hejira" (or "Hijrah"—"flight") to Mecca (622), from which Moslem chronology is reckoned. Converts at last; determination of Mohammed to force Islam ("the Peace of God") on the world at the point of the sword.

(2) ISLAM—a militant creed, suited to a militant eastern power. Its defects—permission of slaughter of the heathen, slavery, and relegation of woman to the harem—have prevented its appealing to western morality. Yet Islam was "an appeal to the deepest and truest instincts of a Semitic people and the gathering cry of an awakened patriotism. It proclaimed to the sceptic a creed and to the warrior a warfare and a crown." The Koran is regarded by Mohammedans in the light of a code of civil and criminal law as well as in the light of a religious book.

(3) EARLY CONQUESTS.—Arabia (before 632); Palestine (637); Syria (639); Egypt (640); Persia (641; fall of Sassanid power; empire henceforward under Caliphs). The way was thus paved for the attacks on Europe of the Saracens, or Moors (Spain), and of the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks (Eastern Empire). Asia Minor conquered (1071), and Seljuk sultanate established, with capital first at Nicæa, then at Iconium. Seljuk conquest of Syria and Palestine, leading to Crusades.

II. The Crusades, in outline (1096-1270).

(1) CAUSES.

(*a*) Possession of the Holy Sepulchre by Seliuk Turks; stories of ill-treatment of Christian pilgrims. Preaching of Peter the Hermit spread the feeling of resentment against the Turks.

(*b*) Appeal of Eastern Emperor, Alexius I (1081-1118), to Pope Urban II (1088-1099), who, at Council of Clermont, proclaimed the Holy War against the infidel. "It is the will of God", was the answering cry. Red cross assumed by Crusaders.

(2) FIRST CRUSADE (1096-1099).—First organized attempt, succeeding irregular attempt of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless and a horde of fanatics, who attacked and plundered the Jews of Mainz, Speyer, Worms, and other German cities before setting out on a disastrous and fruitless journey to Asia Minor.

(*a*) *Leaders.*—Godfrey of Bouillon (Duke of Lower Lorraine, now part of Belgium; statue in Place Royale at Brussels, on the spot where Godfrey is said to have appealed for volunteers for the Crusade); his brothers, Baldwin and Eustace; Robert of Normandy (son of William the Conqueror); Robert of Flanders; Hugh of Vermandois, brother of Philip I of France; Stephen of Blois and Chartres; Raymond of Toulouse. Six divisions (600,000 men) of cavalry and archers started for the East. Homage to Alexius I at Constantinople. Seljuk leader was Solyman.

(*b*) *Events.*—Destruction of Seljuk sultanate of Rum by siege of Nicæa and battle of Dorylæum (1097); siege and capture of Antioch (1097-1098) and siege of Crusaders inside city; journey to Jerusalem (with a depleted force, owing to desertions, disease, and famine), and capture of the Holy City. New lease of life given to Eastern Empire.

(*c*) *Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1099-1187).—First ruler, Godfrey of Bouillon ("Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre"), who defeated the Sultan of Egypt at Ascalon or Gaza. Conquest of Acre, Tripoli, Beirut, and Sidon. Last Christian ruler was Guy of Lusignan.

(*d*) *Christian Principalities of Edessa and Antioch* (afterwards of Tripoli also), subject to kingdom of Jerusalem.

(*e*) *Religious Orders of Knighthood*, founded for defence of Jerusalem.

(*α*) Knights Hospitallers of St. John.—Headquarters Jerusalem, convent and hospital of St. John; president was "Grand Master". Settled at Cyprus after Crusades, and then at Rhodes. Driven from Rhodes (1522), they went to Malta (see *infra*, Peace of Amiens, 1802). Black mantle, white cross.

(*β*) Knights Templars.—Headquarters Jerusalem, near Jewish Temple (hence "Templars"); president was "Grand Master". Branch

settled in England about 1200 between modern Fleet Street and the Thames (hence "Temple Bar"). Like Knights Hospitallers, they removed to Cyprus after Crusades. Order suppressed by Philip IV of France (1312—see *supra*). White mantle, red cross.

(γ) Teutonic Knights, so called because membership was at first confined to Germans. Headquarters Acre. Order removed to Venice after 1270, and then to West Prussia. Fought for Poles against heathen Prussians (thirteenth century). A rich order, with extensive domains on Baltic coast. Suppressed 1809. White mantle, black cross.

(3) SECOND CRUSADE (1147–1149).

(*a*) *Cause.*—Seizure of Edessa by Turks. Preacher of Crusade was St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

(*b*) *Leaders.*—Conrad III, Emperor Louis VII of France.

(*c*) *Events.*—Treachery of Emperor Manuel Comnenus; hardships of Christians, only a few of whom reached Jerusalem. Total failure of Crusade.

(4) THIRD CRUSADE (1189–1192).—Course so well known from Scott's *The Talisman*. The last great Crusade.

(*a*) *Cause.*—Capture of Guy of Lusignan, and conquest of Acre and Jerusalem (see *supra*) by Saladin, ruler of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, "the brightest example of Oriental knighthood".

(*b*) *Leaders.*—Frederick Barbarossa (drowned on the way); Richard Cœur de Lion; and Philip Augustus of France.

(*c*) *Events.*—Quarrels between Richard and Philip (return of Philip, 1191); capture of Acre; failure to besiege Jerusalem. Truce with Saladin. Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre to be allowed. Capture of Richard by Leopold of Austria on his way home.

(5) FOURTH CRUSADE (1202–1204).—Directed not against Palestine, but against Constantinople. Preached by Pope Innocent III.

(*a*) *Cause.*—Quarrels between Churches of East and West, and desire of Crusaders for plunder.

(*b*) *Leaders.*—Baldwin of Flanders and Boniface of Montferrat.

(*c*) *Events.*—Deposition of Alexius IV and Alexius V; Latin Empire (1204–1261, see *supra*).

(6) FIFTH CRUSADE (1228–1229).

Caused by vow of Emperor Frederick II, who regained Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Sidon; but these were only temporary successes. Final loss of Jerusalem (1244) to Christians.

(7) SIXTH CRUSADE (1248–1254).

Cross taken by Louis IX (St. Louis) of France. Expedition against Egypt and capture of Damietta; but Louis captured and ransomed.

(8) SEVENTH CRUSADE (1270).

Loss of Antioch (1268) and other towns reduced Christian possessions in Palestine to little more than one town, Acre. Cross taken again by Louis IX, but he died at Tunis (1270). Crusading journey of Edward (afterwards Edward I) of England. Final loss of Acre (1291), and end of Christian power in Palestine.

(9) RESULTS OF CRUSADES:—

(*a*) *On the Papacy.*—Increased authority and power; Papal leadership of Christendom strengthened, and Church enriched by lands of Crusaders who died on their expeditions.

(*b*) *On East and West.*—Better feeling as they came into contact; interchange of ideas and customs, resulting in the intellectual development of the West.

(*c*) *On Feudalism.*—Many large estates weakened by being burdened with debt; land began to be acquired by the trading classes; as one writer says with some truth:—"Modern society is indebted to the Crusades for the beginnings of its best constituent, the great middle class".

(*d*) *On Chivalry.*—A great development, for to the military idea was added the religious.

(*e*) *On Commerce.*—Much benefit to the Italian republics, especially Venice (see *infra*); new arts and processes introduced into Europe—e.g., windmills, silk, and sugar were first seen in Europe after, and as a result of, the Crusades.

It has been pointed out already that the Turks, by closing to Europeans the old land routes to the East, forced the maritime nations of Europe to search for fresh ones. The era of discovery, beginning with the Portuguese voyages under Henry the Navigator (fifteenth century; see *supra*), was ushered in, and Modern History begins.

I. THE MONASTIC MOVEMENT, SCHISMS, AND COUNCILS

(GROUPED TOGETHER FOR CONVENIENCE)

I. The Monastic Movement.—A movement in search of an ideal.

(1) ORIGIN.—Obscure; basis lies in a

belief that the world (all matter) is evil, and that therefore contact with the world should be shunned. Hence, there have been hermits in every age, but the ideal has been aimed at chiefly in countries where an outdoor life can with greatest safety be lived. First Christian aims at asceticism were due to the worldly aspirations of the Church in the third century. First vows were of poverty and chastity; vow of obedience was added when orders of monks were formed. Monks first seen in the west about the year 350; monasteries began to be founded, but with no common organization.

(2) BENEDICTINES. — First order in Western Europe; founder, Benedict of Nursia (480–543); rule of life introduced into his monastery at Monte Cassino, near Naples. Manuscripts copied in the monastery; Benedict thus preserved historical records. Progress of his ideas through Western Europe:—

(*a*) Adoption by Gregory the Great (Pope 590–604), who established the Benedictine rule in Italy, Sicily, and England.

(*b*) Only form of monasticism, under Boniface (St. Winifred, who preached to the Frisians; see *supra*), in Gaul and Germany.

(*c*) New Benedictine foundations in England (forty during reign of Edgar the Peaceful) under Dunstan (tenth century), although a rapid decline in monasticism had set in. First great reform in

(*d*) The Cluniac Reformation.—Monastery of Cluny founded 910; kept in touch with offshoots, so that unity of purpose, doctrine, and policy was attained, and the "Congregation" of Cluny became a vast organization and the centre of monastic life. Chief disciple was Hildebrand.

But in the eleventh century enthusiasm for the monastic spirit was so great that even the strict rule of Cluny seemed lax; hence, foundation of other orders.

(3) CARTHUSIANS. — Founded 1084 (following foundation of Order of Grammont, 1076) by Bruno, a monk of Cologne, near Grenoble; monastery called "Grande Chartreuse" ("Charterhouse"). Death of Bruno (1101), but spread of order in France and England (ten or twelve houses—chief was priory of Witham, founded 1182). Carthusians lived a solitary life, eating alone, and seeing their brethren only in chapel and chapter.

(4) CISTERCIANS.—One of founders (1098) was an Englishman, Stephen Harding; name from Citeaux (place of "standing water"), where foundation took place. Spread of the order, and establishment in England (Tintern, Fountains Abbey, Rievaulx). Excessive simplicity was mark of Cistercians, even in their church buildings, and they lived far away from the haunts of men. One of chief followers of this rule was St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

(5) AUSTIN (AUGUSTINE) CANONS, or Canons Regular.—Rule of life based on writings of St. Augustine. Chief offshoot was Premonstratensian body, founded (1120) by Norbert of Xanten. Aim was to combine the holy life with the care of souls.

(6) CARMELITES. — Called White Friars, on account of their white robe; founded (1219) by hermits on Mount Carmel.

(7) FRANCISCANS.—Called Grey Friars; founded about 1210 by John Bernardone (St. Francis) of Assisi, and encouraged by Innocent III. Life of poverty ("Poor Men of Assisi"); but this changed when the order began to hold property. Amongst its members were Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and Bonaventura.

(8) DOMINICANS. — Black Friars; founded (1215) by Dominic de Guzman, a Spaniard, at Toulouse to combat heresy (especially Albigensian). Order spread into Asia, Africa, and America; and later managed the Inquisition. Chief scholars were Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. Rivals of Franciscans (Thomists — followers of Thomas Aquinas—*v.* Scotists—followers of Duns Scotus).

(9) MILITARY ORDERS, see *supra*, in account of Crusades.

(10) BENEFITS OF MONASTICISM, far outweighing the evils:—

(*a*) Good work in the spread of religion, education, and charity. In some English towns (e.g., Newcastle-upon-Tyne) ancient foundations exist which still carry on the threefold work.

(*b*) An ideal held up in a dark age.

(*c*) Right of sanctuary brought within reach of everybody by the erection of so many monastic buildings.

(*d*) Intercession constantly being made to

God for the sins of the world. This appealed to the mediæval mind.

II. Schisms and Councils.—[No connection with the Monastic Movement—placed in same group as dealing with religion.]

(1) *Schisms in Papacy and Empire* (1378–1417), following deaths of Charles IV and Gregory XI (Pope 1370–1378).

(*a*) *Papacy.*—Return to Rome (1377) after a residence at Avignon since 1309. In 1378 some cardinals chose Urban VI and others Clement VII—commencement of schism.

(*b*) *Empire.*—Deposition of Wenceslas (1400), and election of Rupert; struggle later (1410–1411) between Sigismund and Jobst of Moravia for Empire—thus schism in Empire also.

(2) *Conciliar Movement.*—Schism in Church the more serious schism, on account of its effect on Christianity. Growth of idea that a representative Council of the Church had more power than Head of Church; idea supported by universities (Oxford, Paris, and Prague). Hence, three Councils, as occasion demanded—Pisa (1409), Constance (1414–1418), and Basel (1431–1449, with intervals)—all faced with the questions of unity and reform.

(3) *Council of Pisa.*—Two Popes now—Gregory XII (1406–1409) and Benedict XIII. Both summoned to the Council; both refused to appear and were deposed. Council appointed Alexander V. Triple Schism in Papacy. Death of Alexander V (1409); cardinals elected John XXIII (1410–1417).

(4) *Council of Constance.*—Summoned by Sigismund, the Pope being in difficulties with Naples, and desiring assistance from Sigismund, which was granted at the price of the summoning of a council to end the schism. Both a Church Council and a European Congress.

(*a*) *Healing of Schism* ("causa unionis").—Quarrels between the Council (sitting in nations—Italians, French, Germans, Spanish, and English) and the Pope, whom they treated as one of the schismatics, and whose retirement was demanded as a necessary condition of unity. Flight of John and confusion in the Council. Order restored by Sigismund. Deposition of John XXIII (1415), claims of antipope Benedict XIII ignored, and election of Martin V (Pope 1417–1431) by the cardinals and six representatives from each nation represented in the Council. End of schism in Church.

(*b*) *Suppression of Heresy* ("causa fidei").—Hussite movement (beginnings in quarrel between parish priests and mendicant orders; people learned to question the authority of the priests) started by John Huss, follower of Wycliffe, and a professor at the University of Prague. Huss attacked the German rule of Bohemia (a Slav state) and the orthodox creeds of the Church. German exodus from University of Prague (1409); foundation of University of Leipzig. Huss invited by Sigismund to Constance under a safe-conduct, to state his position before the princes and priests of Europe. Imprisonment of Huss, due to John XXIII, who desired to cause strife between Sigismund and the Council. Trial, during which he lost support of Sigismund, and death by burning (1415). But the heresy had not been stamped out; Hussite wars in Bohemia, 1419–1436.

(*c*) *Reformation* ("causa reformationis").—Efforts of reforming party to reform abuses failed.

(5) *Council of Basel.*—Council of Constance had provided for meetings of future councils, one of which had met at Pavia and then at Siena. Procedure at Constance now altered—voting by nations abolished; matters first dealt with in committees and then discussed by the whole Council. Undignified quarrels with Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447) and election (1439) of Felix V as antipope prevented the completion of greater projects (such as the union of the Greek and Roman Churches, proposed 1438–9) and the carrying out of reforms. Last great Council.

(6) *Failure of Movement.*—Unity of the various divisions of the Church impossible in the then condition of the nations (see *supra*—component parts of France and Spain almost united); local Churches were too strong. Foundation of Reformation was being laid in the emergence of the nations and the national Churches.

J. THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS, THE SWISS CONFEDERATION, AND THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

(GROUPED TOGETHER FOR CONVENIENCE)

I. The Italian Republics.—A brief sketch of the history of Italy to

the end of the thirteenth century may be given first.

(1) ITALY TO END OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

(*a*) *North.*—Kingdom of Lombardy succeeded Kingdom of East Goths (founded by Theodoric the Great, 493, who had defeated Odoacer). Lombards a Teutonic tribe, who, under Alboin, made Pavia the capital of their new kingdom (568–774). Trouble meanwhile between Lombards and Papacy (see *infra*). Revival of Western Empire (800). Kings of Lombardy became "Phantom Emperors" in interregnum (887 to 962). From 962 (revival of Empire by Otto the Great) emperors claimed kingship of Lombardy; constant troubles; growth of Lombard cities, and victory of Lombard League over Frederick Barbarossa (Treaty of Constance, 1183). Henceforward, importance of Venice and Milan, which began to develop independently. Practically no Imperial authority in Italy after time of Frederick II (1212–1252).

(*b*) *Centre.*—Papacy. Leadership of Church, Constantinople being forced into second place (381); missionary zeal gave whole of church of Western Europe to Rome. Trouble with Lombards, under King Liutprand (712–743). Papal appeal to Charles Martel and then to Pepin; cession of Exarchate of Ravenna to Papacy (755)—beginning of temporal power of Papacy, which included a large portion of central Italy. Soon, Papacy was degraded by being aim of political factions of Rome, but policy of Otto I, Otto III, and Henry III reformed the office ready for its contest with the Empire.

(*c*) *South.*—Authority of Eastern Empire respected until foundation of Norman kingdom of Apulia (early eleventh century), which recognized Papacy. Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger consolidated the Norman power—conquest of Sicily (1060–1100); thus, basis for foundation of the kingdom of the two Sicilies. Roger (son of conqueror of Sicily) united Apulia and Sicily into one kingdom, which lasted till the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century. Naples and Sicily passed (1266–1268) into hands of Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France.

(2) HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICS.—Gradual emergence of five states, four of which were city-states, named after the cities to which they belonged—Naples, Milan, Venice, Florence, and the Papacy—all involved in the strife of factions, except Venice. Fortunes of the first four:—

(*a*) *Venice.*—Ruled since 697 by a doge ("dux", "duke"). After Crusades and Genoese war (Genoa had defeated Pisa, 1284, but was defeated by Venice, 1380) Venice was mistress of Mediterranean during thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Corfu and Cyprus became Venetian. Constitution oligarchical; Great Council chose Doge; appointment of Council of Ten.

(*b*) *Milan.*—Ruled since time of Henry VII (1308–1313) by Ghibelline Visconti as Imperial viceroys. Conquests of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in Lombardy (reduction of Verona and Padua) led to war with Florence (1390–1392). Line of Visconti died out; power seized in Lombardy by "condottieri", leaders of bands of soldiers, and in Milan by Francesco Sforza, who became duke (1450).

(*c*) *Florence.*—Political struggles of Blacks *v.* Whites, old nobility, and trade guilds. Rise of the Medici, family of Giovanni de' Medici, a banker. History of Florence linked with that of Medici family for three centuries after return of Cosimo de' Medici (1434), who had been expelled. Greatest of Medici was Lorenzo (died 1492). Both Cosimo and Lorenzo were patrons of the Fine Arts. Library founded by Cosimo at Venice during his exile (1433–1434); Greek manuscripts (three collections), coins, and inscriptions brought to Florence; study of Greek encouraged; brilliant company of men of letters and artists formed; and large sums expended on building (Monastery of St. Mark, Church of St. Lorenzo, Abbey of Fiesola). His work in this direction was continued after his death (1464) by his grandson, Lorenzo, patron of the young Michel Angelo, and "the ablest by far of the men of parts in Italy".

(*d*) *Naples.*—Under House of Anjou. Then connection with Empire (1190–1266), and renewed Anjou rule. Sicilian Vespers (1282), rising against French—House of Aragon became rulers of Sicily (till 1295, when it again became French). Naples conquered by Alfonso V of Aragon (1435), who passed it on to his son, Ferdinand I. Revival of French claim by Charles VIII (see *supra*).

In the meantime at Rome, during papal residence at Avignon (1309–1376), rival factions had been struggling for the leadership. Cola di Rienzi made tribune (1347), with full powers to restore order. Rienzi driven out; appeal by him to Emperor; return to Rome as papal representative; killed in a rising (1354)—"the last of the tribunes". Papal States recovered by Cardinal Albornoz.

(3) OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF ITALIAN UNITY.—A few can be indicated.

(*a*) Geographical divisions—plain of Lombardy cut off by Apennines, and peninsula cut into two by this backbone.

(*b*) Different elements in people—Roman, Greek, Gothic, German, Norman.

(*c*) Struggle of Papacy and Empire.
(*d*) Struggle of Guelfs and Ghibellines.

(4) ITALY AND THE RENAISSANCE.—Renaissance a link between Mediæval and Modern History; mediæval methods of thought were abolished, to give place to the freer atmosphere of modern times. Movement began in Italy in thirteenth century, and continued till the sixteenth century, when it was succeeded by the religious struggles consequent on the Reformation, which was the Renaissance in its application to religion. Thirteenth and fourteenth century Italy responsible for revival of literature and art, and for handing the Renaissance spirit to the other countries of Europe. Space permits here only of outlines and names.

(*a*) *Literature.*—Chief names are Dante (1265–1321), Petrarch (1304–1374), and Boccaccio (1313–1375).

(*b*) *Art.*—Italian painting and sculpture worthy of the traditions of Greece.

(α) *Painting.*—Prominence of Florence and Siena, which produced respectively Cimabue (born 1240) and Duccio. Giotto (born 1276), "the Dante of art", pupil of Cimabue, was first great painter of modern times. Later artists were Raphael (1483–1520), Michel Angelo (1475–1564—sculptor as well as painter), Titian (1480–1576), and Correggio (1494–1534).

(β) *Sculpture.*—Classical models existed. Florentine school, chief exponents of which were Lorenzo Ghiberti, Donatello, and Luca della Robbia. After them came Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), Michel Angelo, and Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519—painter also).

The example thus set by Italy was followed in other parts of Europe—notably in Belgium and Holland (Flemish and Dutch schools)—and the literary and artistic spirit was spread over a great part of the continent.

II. The Swiss Confederation.—Beginnings of struggle of Swiss for independence.

(1) ORIGIN OF SWITZERLAND.—Cantons of Uri and Schwyz under counts of Hapsburg, but released by Frederick II. Everlasting League of 1291 between Cantons—origin of Swiss Confederation. League confirmed by Adolf of Nassau, anxious to weaken his rival, Albert of Austria.

(2) STRUGGLE WITH AUSTRIA.—Swiss victorious at Morgarten (1315) and Sempach (1386). Treaty of 1389, in which the Hapsburgs renounced all claim on Switzerland. Dependence on Empire alone. Eight Cantons now—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zurich, Glarus, Zug, and Bern.

III. The Hanseatic and other Leagues.—A phase of the development of the cities, noticed already in France and Italy. The German towns developed with the weakness of the central authority, the Empire—the southern group (Ulm, Ratisbon, Nürnberg, &c.) dependent on the trade routes, and the northern group (Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Danzig, &c.) dependent on fishing and the maritime routes. Meeting-place of north and south was Bruges.

(1) HANSEATIC LEAGUE:—

(*a*) *Origin.*—In unions of German seaports between Baltic and Elbe in thirteenth century to protect interests of their traders abroad. Chief alliance was between Lübeck (on Baltic) and Hamburg (on North Sea) to protect the road between the towns in case the Danes had closed the straits joining the two seas. League (capital Lübeck) consisted in fourteenth century of over ninety cities, including inland towns.

(*b*) *Organization.*—Four divisions: (α) Prussian (capital Danzig); (β) Wendic (capital Lübeck); (γ) Saxon (capital Brunswick); (δ) Westphalian (capital Cologne). Chief trading stations—Novgorod, Stockholm, Wisby, Bergen, Bruges, London.

(*c*) *Wars with Denmark.*—Ended in 1370 by peace of Stralsund, on terms advantageous to the League, which had defended North Germany from Danish encroachment.

(*d*) *Decline of League.*—Began in fifteenth century. Causes were foreign competition (especially English), opposition of Denmark and Sweden, growth of German states, severance of Flemish and Dutch towns from League. Name "Hanse towns" ("Hansa" meant first a band of soldiers, then a union for trading purposes) retained by Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck for several centuries.

(2) LEAGUE OF RHINE CITIES.—Formed about 1250 by Worms and Mainz, and joined by over seventy cities (not all on Rhine) and by princes.

(3) SUABIAN CITY LEAGUE (1376).—Formed against counts of Würtemberg.

K. NORTHERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

SCANDINAVIA, DENMARK, RUSSIA, AND POLAND

I. Scandinavia and Denmark.—Fortunes related for centuries.

(1) ORIGIN OF THE THREE COUNTRIES:—

(*a*) *Denmark.*—Authentic history begins in ninth century; tribal settlement of two bands of Danes, the one on the mainland, and the other on the islands. First king of all Denmark was Gorm the Old (860–935). Rivalry with Norway begins in tenth century; conquest by Canute (King of England, 1016–1035). Separation followed.

(*b*) *Norway.*—Settled (according to tradition) by Olaf; country a collection of separate parts till union in ninth century. Migration of Northmen under Rollo, and foundation of Normandy (911). Discovery and settlement of Greenland (tenth century), and Norwegian voyages to the New World. Union of whole country (after separation) under St. Olaf (1015–1030), in whose reign Christianity was introduced. Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, killed at Stamford Bridge.

(*c*) *Sweden.*—Settled by Finns, Goths, and Svea. Authentic history begins in ninth century. First Christian king was Olaf (993–1024). Swedes had already (ninth century) settled round Novgorod and laid foundation of Russia by conquering Slavs.

(2) UNION OF KALMAR (1397).—The three countries united after a period of confusion and rivalry and after the defeat of Denmark (under Waldemar IV) by the Hanseatic League. Denmark really supreme after the union, which lasted till 1524, when Gustavus Vasa became first King of Sweden. Denmark and Norway united till 1815.

II. Russia.—People of Slavonic origin, like inhabitants of Bohemia, Poland, &c. Backward in their appearance as a power in Europe, partly because of their Asiatic tendencies, and partly because of attacks from Tartar races.

(1) *Conquest by Northmen* under Rurik of district round Novgorod, which was made capital of new kingdom. House of Rurik ruled from 862 to 1598, but many principalities grew up (chief that of Moscow).

(2) *Christianity accepted* by Vladimir the Great (988), who married a princess of the Eastern Empire.

(3) *Invasions of Tartars* (thirteenth century).—State founded at Kazan, on Volga. Whole country compelled to pay tribute.

(4) *Consolidation of Russia* by Ivan III (took title of Czar), and subjugation of Poles, Swedes, and Tartars by Ivan IV (1546–1584).

III. Poland.—Slavonic state. War with Teutonic Knights (see *supra*). Became great under Casimir III (1333–1370). Expansion of territory in fourteenth century; union of Poland and Lithuania under House of Jagellon (Grand Duke of Lithuania), which ruled from 1386 to 1572.

L. EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Some account has been given already of the theories of the Empire, of Feudalism, and of Monasticism, three of the most important political, social, and religious aspects of mediæval civilization. It remains to indicate the other main channels along which the streams of thought flowed in the Middle Ages, although it will not be possible, in the altered circumstances of the age, to describe the civilization of this period under quite the same headings as were used in the case of Greece and Rome. A brief account of the remaining aspects of the civilization of the Middle Ages will be given under the following heads:—(1) Literature; (2) Art; (3) Language; (4) Commerce; (5) The Universities; (6) Philosophy; (7) Chivalry. It must be remembered, however, that the subject is a vast one, only the fringe of which can be touched here.

I. Literature.—Developed with the corruption of Latin and the growth of the Romance languages—Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. But Teutonic productions also in German and English.

(1) ITALIAN.—See *supra*, in account of beginnings of Renaissance in Italy.

(2) FRENCH.—Two languages:—

(*a*) *Langue d'Oc.*—South of France; Provençal poets flourished in twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Troubadours ("finders"—Fr. *trouver*—or "inventors" of verses)

[illegible] Fourteenth [illegible] love and [illegible]

[illegible]—North of France: "Trouvères" (same derivation as "Troubadour") wrote in Norman-French poems on similar subjects, and on the deeds of Charles the Great. Chief chroniclers were Froissart and Philip de Comines (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries).

(3) SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE.—Not important. The life of the Spanish conqueror Rodrigo Diaz, the Cid (flourished about 1100; see *supra*), forms the subject of a poem in the early Spanish language.

(4) GERMAN.—Chief production is *Nibelungen Lied*, recounting conquest of Nibelung by Siegfried (Teutonic and Scandinavian mythology; scene on the Rhine).

(5) ENGLISH.—Chief writers:—Bede (672–735—*Ecclesiastical History*, works in Latin); Chaucer (*Canterbury Tales*), and Langland (*Vision of Piers the Plowman*)—both fourteenth-century writers.

II. Art.

(1) ARCHITECTURE.—Chief models found in cathedrals and abbeys of France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Italy. Styles—Norman (rounded arch), Gothic (pointed arch), and Moorish (see *supra*).

(2) SCULPTURE.—See *supra*, in account of beginnings of Renaissance in Italy.

(3) PAINTING.—Chief schools were Florentine (see *supra*), Flemish (brothers Van Eyck, and Memling), and Rhenish.

III. Language.

Early decay of Latin as a spoken language, owing to its non-adoption by the barbarians. Mixture of Latin and barbarian languages produced the Romance languages. And as Latin was still the written language, and few could understand it, the mass of the people remained ignorant, and the treasures of literature were guarded securely from them.

IV. Commerce.—Carried on in spite of difficulties of communication and the prevalence of pirates.

(1) TRADE ROUTES.

(*a*) *European.*—Roads connecting towns (cf. road from Lübeck to Hamburg) and maritime routes from Southern to Northern Europe.

(*b*) *To the East.*—Land routes (used by caravans; cf. Ishmaelites who bought Joseph) connecting Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor with India via Arabia. Closing of these by Turks forced maritime nations of Western Europe to undertake voyages of discovery.

(2) COMMERCIAL TOWNS.

(*a*) *North.*—Coasts of Germany, Denmark, Scandinavia, Holland, France, and England. Chief towns, Lübeck (1140), Hamburg (808), Bremen (eighth century), Danzig (tenth century), Cologne (of Roman foundation), Königsberg (1255), Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp (all three, seventh century).

(*b*) *South.*—Mediterranean coasts. Chief towns (famous in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), Venice (cf. "Merchant of Venice"), Genoa, Amalfi, Florence, Pisa, Marseilles, Narbonne, and Barcelona.

Chief manufactures were of wool (Flanders), chief article of English export, and silk (introduced by Normans into Italy and at Palermo). Jews had much to do with development of commerce, which was also helped by the Lombard bankers. Banks and the other machinery of commerce only spring up where they are needed, and England had no bank till 1694 (foundation of Bank of England).

V. The Universities.

Oxford and Cambridge were founded in early times, there being schools of learning, at least at Oxford, before the Norman Conquest. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the four great Scottish Universities were founded—St. Andrews (1411), Glasgow (1451) Aberdeen (1494), and Edinburgh (1583). By the end of the Middle Ages universities had sprung up in France at Paris, Toulouse, Orleans, Angers, and Bourges; in Germany at Prague and Leipzig; in Italy at Naples, Padua, and Pisa; and in Spain at Palencia and Salamanca. These universities, besides being centres of learning, were also the chief means for the dissemination of the ideas of the leading scholars of the day on the great questions of the time. (Cf. Huss and Luther.) They thus played a part in the life of the Middle Ages which it is difficult for us to comprehend.

VI. Philosophy and Science.—Empire theories have already been noticed.

(1) *The Schoolmen.*—Followers of Aristotle. Great aim was to reduce to a system the doctrines of the Church. Controversy raged (twelfth to fourteenth centuries) between the Nomi-

nalists and the Realists. Amongst famous "schoolmen" were Anselm (1033–1109; archbishop of Canterbury under William II and Henry I), Abelard (1079–1142), Bonaventura (1221–1274; a Franciscan, professor at Paris), Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus (see *supra*), and William Occam (1270–1347; born in Surrey).

(2) *Men of Science*, also Schoolmen —Roger Bacon (1214–1293; a Franciscan; forerunner of Newton), and Albertus Magnus (born 1222; a Dominican; student of Aristotle and the sciences).

VII. Chivalry. — No account of Middle Ages would be complete which did not include a sketch of chivalry, "the noblest product of Feudalism". Term means attributes and usages of "chevaliers" (those who ride on horseback—knights; infantry consisted of lower social orders). Religious idea engendered by Crusades, added to military idea of feudalism, produced chivalry at its best. In a word, chivalry developed the sense of *honour*. Earliest and most perfect representative of the chivalrous type is Achilles.

(1) *Virtues.*—Loyalty (the keeping of promises and the fulfilling of tacit obligations; entire absence of treachery); courtesy (respect for others; generous treatment of prisoners); generosity; gallantry (to ladies, who were regarded as the fountains of honour); and justice —in a word, the Christian virtues.

(2) *Progress from Page to Knight.*— Sons of those of high birth became pages (7 to 14 years of age), and then squires (from 14 years of age). Instruction in horsemanship and the use of arms; and practice in attending on lords and ladies. Admission to knighthood after a solemn religious ceremony. Any knight could confer knighthood, but only on those who were of high birth. Chief privilege was that knights belonged to a universal order, and were recognized as knights in any country. Only knights could appear at tournaments.

(3) *Evils.*

(*a*) Knighthood perpetuated social distinctions; generous treatment of the conquered was accorded only to those of the knightly order.

(*b*) Peaceful occupations were despised by the knights, who regarded war as the only pursuit in life, and who often disregarded the law to avenge their private wrongs.

Decline due to use of gunpowder, which rendered armour and weapons almost useless except in hand-to-hand combats. But the ideal of chivalry has always lived, and, like all ideals, is a pattern in its virtues that deserves to be imitated.

The picture presented by the end of the Middle Ages is a diverse one. The nations of France, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark (with Norway), and Russia are coming into being, but there is no sign of the unity of Italy and Germany; and Holland and Belgium (in possession of the Dukes of Burgundy) have not yet taken their modern shape. The Turk is established at Constantinople, the Eastern Empire is at an end, and the interminable Eastern question has begun. The Holy Roman Empire, a glorious anachronism, has gained a new lease of life under the Hapsburg leadership. And the Papacy, which saw the birth of all the rest of European institutions, and has seen the death of many (including the Holy Roman Empire), has recovered from the shock of the schisms, and is bracing itself up for a greater shock, the Reformation, which it withstood without much apparent injury. Modern History is before us, to solve the problems of its predecessor and to create equally difficult ones for its successor.

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